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PROTECTION OF ART DURING WAR.

REPORTS

CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF THE MONUMENTS
OF ART AT THE DIFFERENT THEATRES OF WAR
AND THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN MEASURES TAKEN
FOR THEIR PRESERVATION, RESCUE AND RESEARCH,

IN COLLABORATION WITH

GERHARD BERSU · HEINZ BRAUNE
PAUL BUBERL · THEODOR DEMMLER · RICHARD DETHLEFSEN
HANS DRAGENDORFF · MAX DVORÁK · OTTO VON FALKE · ANTON GNIRS
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THEODOR WIEGAND · FRANZ VON WIESER

EDITED BY

PAUL CLEMEN.



FIRST VOLUME: THE WESTERN FRONT
WITH 117 ILLUSTRATIONS.

PUBLISHER: E. A. SEEMANN, LEIPSIK · 1919



SPAMERSCHE BUCHDRUCKEREI IN LEIPZIG

P R E F A C E

by Paul Clemen.

The representatives of the German and Austrian service for the protection of art, who during the last four years either in the army or under commission from their respective governments, have been entrusted with the difficult and at times seemingly futile task of attending to the protection of art at near and distant theatres of war, or who were active behind the front or at home in serving the new demands caused by the war, have once again co-operated for this publication. This collection of essays presents an explanation of the possibilities and limitations in the protection of art during war, pragmatic justificatory reports on the organization, and statements as to the intentions of the military authorities, the activity of the authors themselves, the condition of the monuments on the different scenes of war, a survey of materials for the history of art in distant lands, part of which had formerly been inaccessible, a description of the measures adopted for protecting, preserving and rescuing these works and of the attempts at art-research which were organized by both Governments, independently, but yet in the same spirit. The twenty-two independent friends of art who here represent all German speaking lands with German culture — art-scholars, university professors, directors of museums, officials for art-administration, architects, conservators — have each independently, in his own special domain, sincerely sought to attain objective truth in the exposition of facts. They speak of what was intended attained; they do not conceal the fact that war is the worst of conservators, and they request the same justice as we grant to the enemy, for what the Governments and military authorities of the Central Powers have done and intended to do. These essays and reports should bear witness to the strict earnestness and conscientiousness with which the military authorities even in the midst of war have attended to tasks of peaceful culture, to the high feeling of responsibility which guided them in matters concerning the artistic inheritance of the neighbouring countries. Where, very much against our wishes, the text has an apologetic tone, such was demanded by the necessity of defending ourselves, not against the accusations of individuals which cannot harm us, but against the attacks upon our good cause, upon the honour of our armies and their leaders. We recognise it as our duty here to raise our voices and let facts speak. We wish for an honest discussion; we refuse to respond in the tone of insulting invective.

These accounts, based by the different authors upon official material which was placed completely at their disposal, are published by a single editor, but each essay appears under the express responsibility of its author. The descriptions of conditions at the west front are followed in a second volume by an exposition of the state of monuments and the measures adopted by the Government or the administrative authorities in the East, South-east and South. The substantial reports of our Austrian, now doubly-dear, allies form the conclusion. In the East, the description is limited to the theatres of war immediately beyond our frontiers. A description of the widely-extended territory which the German troops had occupied during the last stage of the world-war has been abstained from.

So many artistic and historical works, about which we know nothing in detail, were destroyed in the Baltic provinces after the withdrawal of the German troops, that we had likewise to refrain from a consideration of this territory.

In view of the difficulty in maintaining regular communication with the authorities, the individual collaborators and the publishers, a considerable part of the correspondence and the burden of mediation with regard to the printing was entrusted to Dr. Grautoff, who through his self-sacrificing activity has earned considerable merit for this publication. That the book has been printed at all, in so rich a form and so rapidly, in spite of the greatest difficulties and with outer and inner troubles, is due very largely to the unselfish goodwill and the far-sightedness of Herr Gustav Kirstein, owner of the publishing house of E. A. Seemann, who took quite a personal interest in the work.

May this work still speak on our behalf when the world is riper for a dispassionate appreciation of objective fact.

Bonn, April, 1919.

Paul Clemen.

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Versus de destructione
Aquilegiae numquam restaurandae
Ad fiendos tuos, Aquilegia, cineres
non mihi ulle sufficiunt lacrimae,
desunt sermones, dolor sensum abstulit
cordis amari.

(Poëta Latini aevi Carolini)

Engraving by Callot from the *Grandes misères de la guerre*

I.

War and Art Monuments

By Paul Clemen

The theme: "War and works of Art" immediately awakens feelings of deepest pain amongst all the powers at war. Only with intense sorrow, do we compile the awful lists of losses. If those who represent the interests of art protection and administration in Germany and Austria express their opinions on this subject, it is clear to them from the very beginning that culture of art and war seem to be the most extreme opponents conceivable, like two poles which flee from one another just as the principles of preservation and destruction. The question of the possibility of a preservation of monuments during war, in spite of war conditions, has never been discussed, neither before the world-war nor even during any of the great struggles of the foreign powers at present hostile to us. But still, beyond the sad necessity of being grave-diggers and death recorders, there is such a thing as the care of art. If the advocates of the inherent idea, which has found its expression in the word "art-protection", were not able to preserve the venerable memorials of a great past from military operations or spread a protecting hand over the churches and castles within the war zone, still they have never wearied, in case after case, from bringing forward their plea to the responsible authorities and begging for a protection and special consideration of the great stone monuments of their own and foreign histories. They have also unwearingly sought for possibilities of bringing about a judicial binding on the part of all the powers at war, for the exemption of at least the most important national monuments from military use. They have also constantly had to point out the immeasurably important part, which these venerated sanctuaries played in the struggles for the souls of the nations and the sympathies of the world at large. But who amongst us, who anywhere and in any way were entrusted with the interests and care of monuments during the war, has not finally, with bleeding heart and bound hands, been compelled to look on while this care of architecture has ultimately been taken charge of, often too totally and completely, by our own and the enemy's heavy artillery, how the purest intentions of a nation and even the military leaders themselves, have failed against foundered on the vis major of military necessity.

The excited voices, which have been governed by hate and directed by bitterness, may now remain silent! How long has it taken for the urgent and deeply earnest appeal for the renunciation of hate which Romain Rolland made to the world four years ago in "Au-dessus de la mêlée", to begin to take effect! It is no longer the time for passionate outbursts or senseless exaggerations. The universal

conscience demands that such a weighty question should be treated with the moral earnestness and the calm, objective justice, which it deserves. We have striven to understand the deep pain which must have possessed all real friends of true art upon hearing exaggerated reports of the jeopardy of one of their most treasured sanctuaries. To-day we can say that the three names, Louvain, Reims and Lusitania, each in almost the same degree, have extinguished any sympathy for Germany in America, and these three fanfares have been blown to a false melody: boundless exaggerations worked hand in hand with unjustified generalisations. There have been too many amongst us, who have either not been able or not willing to see, what strong effect the imponderables which here come into question had and how mighty was the echo of each of these big catch-words¹).

How valuable would then have been an indisputable statement of the facts, produced without delay, through trustworthy witnesses, before the areopagus of the whole world; how important it would have been if an opportunity could have been given also to admit neutral experts who could have claimed the right to be heard as witnesses and to participate in the discussion of the pros and cons; if a way could have been found for the clearing up of the matter, before the poisoning of the world's mind had been completed. Our military head-quarters showed here clearly their good intention: just as in the first two years of the war, American war journalists, that is, witnesses who were impartial or else who sympathized with our enemies, were at different times most generously allowed to visit the front, so also did the German Governor-general in Belgium most readily support the collecting of evidence, which a well-known Swiss architect, Eugen Probst, on his own initiative and in complete freedom, had undertaken. No one to-day, *aequa mente*, would accuse any of the countries on either side of having destroyed national memorials out of a sheer love of destruction, without reason and without military necessity. Such a supposition is so preposterous and so opposed to the dignity of the accused as well as the accuser, that all these charges can only be understood in the moment and heat of hatred. It is also no longer advisable, as it was considered in the tactics of the battles of those days, to depreciate one's opponents and push them aside as *testes suspecti*, from the very beginning, in the manner of an unskilful advocate. We quietly confess, even to-day, that we have admired and honoured, and still admire as artists, Maeterlinck and still more Verhaeren, although they have uttered about us the most bitter and hateful words which have ever been poured out upon any nation; with a shake of the head, with indignation or a smile, we have noticed amongst our violent accusers, men whom up till then we had regarded as representatives of the great international community of intellectual workers, such as the aged Anatole France and Henri Bergson. If the first protests from Germany, even the full-toned declaration of the German Intellectuals, were not always happily conceived, even so, on the other side, the first representatives of French intellect signed a document which is full of exaggerations and errors²).

What is now necessary is impartial justice. We are willing to acknowledge the military necessity on the part of the Russians, in their systematic devastation of the whole of the country of the Vistula, during their retreat in the year 1915, we are also willing to imagine the feeling of responsibility on the part of their military leaders, who in every section saw anew the necessity of detaching themselves from the enemy, and believed that this was only possible way of preventing pursuit; we acknowledge that the places in southern Alsace which have been destroyed by French artillery have also been done so through the same rigid military necessity, — but we request and demand a similar acknowledgment and impartiality for ourselves in the matter of devastations and destructions which

¹) One recalls an example in poetry, even if an inartistic one, from those days. The academician Aicard, who has been placed side by side with Mistral by many of his compatriots, composed a song of hate, à la Freiligrath, which gives a varied form of this fanfare to an old tune: *La honteuse Allemagne tombe plus bas que tout. Des soldats pris au bain inspirent le dégoût. Parmi les pleurs, les râles ils ont, ivres de vin, brûlé nos cathédrales, Reims et Louvain. Nous crions: Vengeance! Vive la France!* At the end, with still grimmer variation: *Strike, Frenchmen, Britons, Russians, at the German wolf: attack, attack! Shame, death to you, ye Prussians; Reims, Louvain, awake, to raise the vengeance cry! France shall live!*

²) It is the accusation document: *Les Allemands destructeurs de cathédrales et de trésors du passé, Paris 1915*, at the foot of which stand the first names of France: scholars, poets, philosophers, artists, musicians, without one of the bearers of these names having had an opportunity of verifying these charges.

were ordered by the German head-quarters after a searching and conscientious examination as to their military necessity. We were the first to acknowledge the, in many respects exemplary, systematic rescue of Italian works of art the clever, almost too clever precautionary measures adopted so widely by the Italian government, with regard to those art-treasures which they believed to be in danger. We have taken notice of the comprehensive and conscientious rescue-work behind the front, introduced by the French, certainly rather late but then very thoroughly. We must recognize in fullest appreciation, the expert measures which the English took for the protection and exploration of monuments and antiquities in Jerusalem and Bagdad, and how even the Roumanians with the greatest care, immediately took charge of the art-treasures on their advance into Transylvania. But we request for ourselves and our allies similar appreciation and the same just valuation of our expert, conscientious work, of our solicitude for the monuments and art-treasures in foreign territory, and of the measures we too took for their protection, exploration and publication. And all the measures adopted by our opponents were for the memorials of their own culture in their own country. It is the first time in the history of war that a government has worked so systematically and extensively for the preservation and rescue of art-treasures in enemy territory.

The war was waged and ended in hostile country; therefore the battle-fields on which both parties have fought are in the West. The scenes of destruction, in which both sides have an equal share, lie in enemy country and it is the opponent who has been heavily smitten by this loss, who especially mourns. Had destiny decided otherwise the battle-fields would be on German soil, the zone of war devastations would pass through German land, and Germany in the same way would be suffering and mourning, as has been the case in East Prussia. And are there not in Galicia and in the Bukowina, wide stretches of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, devastated by the Russians; has not Görz been shot into ruins and the Isonzo territory changed into a desert by the Italians; have not even in neutral territory, such as Persia and Macedonia, venerable monuments of art and culture been destroyed or plundered by the Russians and French respectively? Certainly in these cases where "only" Germany and its allies or neutrals were the sufferers, the universal conscience was not further disturbed!

The great historical mistake in all these charges is that the military leadership or one of the war-parties is accused, whereas really only war itself should be accused. This war has been so terrible in the means employed and their consequences, through the reckless introduction of destructive air-attacks, through the thousandfold increase and heightening of the artillery fire, through the previously unheard-of concentration of enormous masses of troops within a seemingly impossible narrow compass (who by their sheer attempt to expand seemed to crush everything around them), that just as the human losses have increased prodigiously in comparison with former wars, so also the devastation of land had to be much more terrible. The awful bloodshed in the autumn of last year must have brought home to the conscience of all nations that at the present day war means a laying waste of the whole war-territory; even as Lloyd George gravely declared, this fact must be clear to us that such a war must never be allowed to recur. And Prince Max of Baden spoke in tones of intense emotion of the great purification, which this realisation brought to us.

One recalls the statement of the English journalist, H. N. Brailsford: "One may object that the burning down of Louvain and Aershot is an indisputable fact. I beg the reader to remember, however, that we English burnt every farm and many towns in the Transvaal and the Orange Free-state, under the compulsion of an apparent military necessity. In my opinion, such measures do not prove the special and abnormal barbarism of the Germans as much as they prove the horrors of war in general." And it is ever again war itself, with its awful means and its danger of brutalizing and demoralizing man, against which one must direct the terrible charge of world-devastation.

In history, have not wars of long duration always automatically brought with them the destruction of works of human hands? And if one regards war only as an historical possibility: has there ever been a war, apart from those which have only flashed through countries, which has not destroyed together with human life, also human works? Modern European history only records two periods of deliberate and, to a certain extent, programmatic destruction of works of art, and these do not emanate



Lens. The remnants of the church amongst the ruins caused by the English

from Germany. The first is the iconoclasm in the Netherlands between 1566—1568, which nearly blotted out an almost unparalleled rich art-period; the other is the great French Revolution, for which at that time the word "vandalisme", but "vandalisme Jacobin", has been coined¹). The thirty years' war caused nowhere in Germany, in any one single district, such thorough destruction as the Palatinate suffered in the third annexation war of Louis XIV (1678), in which Mélac, who had already ravaged Holland terribly, systematically laid waste this prosperous land. Still worse than the fate of the Belgian towns in the sixteenth century was the misfortune which befell Brussels in 1695: the French, under Villeroy, proclaimed on this occasion the bombardment of the innocent town, which destroyed the whole mediaeval city, with the exception of Ste. Gudule and the Town-Hall; the etchings of Richard van Orley, after the drawings of A. Coppens, have preserved these ruins for later generations.²) The war-historian of to-day would have to state, that in the description of war-like actions since the beginning of the nineteenth century, reports of nameless horrors are repeated with stereotyped accuracy more than any other themes, from the "Desastros de la guerra", in which Goya exhausted his whipped-up imagination, to the descriptions of the French Algerian expedition by Ault-Dumesnil, the Indian-English battles by Kaye and Malleon, the Crimean War by Bogdanowitsch, the Russo-Turkish war by Kuropatkin, right up to the last Orient and Balkan War, the Boer War and the French and Italian battles in North Africa. The accusation which was invented and first raised against the French was then brought forward against the English, Russians, Turks and Italians. There are legends which always make their appearance as cases of war-hysteria, just as there are psychical and physical forms of illness which break out and only seem to be possible in connection with war. Such legends appeared in the first excited reports, for which, in a state of psychosis, only too well-known to the criminalist, witnesses and testimonies were adduced; the chronicler and still more the reflective historical scholar rejects such evidence, just because he is familiar with

¹) Grégoire, member of the Convention wrote on January 11, 1794, in his "Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics": "On ne peut inspirer aux citoyens trop d'horreur pour le vandalisme qui ne connaît que la destruction." "Le vandalisme Jacobin" is the title of a book by Gustave Gautherot, published immediately before the war in 1914, in which he classifies, "les destructions administratives d'archives, d'objets d'art, de monuments religieux à l'époque révolutionnaire" (Paris, Beauchesne 1914). The word "vandalisme" in its present-day sense, was introduced by this same Bishop Grégoire of Blois, to mark the purposeless destruction of French churches by the French legions.

²) "Perspectives des ruines de la ville de Bruxelles désignées au naturel par Augustin Coppens, 1695", newly published with preface, by Julius Baum, Brussels, 1915.

the cliché. The accusations of cruelty and breach of international law brought forward by one party are answered by the other party with the same complaints, the same evidence and the same details. One cannot maintain that right is on the side of the one who protests most loudly. After the Balkan War in 1912-13, the Carnegie Commission certified that just those Bulgarian troops who had been most violently attacked proved themselves to be comparatively the most blameless.

But even after the froth has vanished, the dregs still remain. Therein lies the bitterness and the pain. The war has not only re-awakened the wild primitive instincts of mankind, but these instincts have also been developed and fostered in all parties by those four years of incessant fighting. Twenty-five million men, fully armed and filled with hatred, confronted one another on the battlefield, and how many individuals with an instinct for brutality and crime against property must one reckon for each million according to the law of probabilities — amongst all the belligerents? In all the countries at war the criminality at home decreased because the strongest, the boldest, the most daring of the men between the ages of 18 and 45 were at the front. It is not difficult to imagine, according to the criminal statistics of all the involved countries — of all countries — how many doubtful elements would be included amongst the troops at and immediately behind the front. It is not advisable to practise a policy of blindness and shun the results of this proportional reckoning, but neither is it admissible here, to play the Pharisee and cast all the blame on the opponent.

With a heart full of pain and moved by the deepest sorrow we have watched the destruction of whole stretches of that France and Belgium which we loved and whose monumental art-creations we admired, as one of the highest expressions of Northern art tendencies and because their spirit spoke to us with deep affinity. To have to be onlookers of these sad scenes and to have one's hands tied, to be unable to check or lessen the increasing misfortune, was perhaps the bitterest task which the war imposed upon the enthusiastic lover and protector of art. Much that for years had remained protected at last slowly perished as the result of the enormous concentration of troops, the quick changes of position and the ensuing continuous change of quarters. Some of the castles have changed occupants thirty, others more than fifty times. When suddenly three hundred men are crowded into a room which barely holds thirty; when soldiers who are worn-out after long marches or troops who have just come from the front, are pressed together under such conditions, the furniture of the room seem to be automatically forced into the floor and the walls. Our troops twice passed through a desolated and empty country, where they had to bring furniture for each canteen barrack and hospital. The necessaries had to be procured and renewed for a thousand field hospitals and convalescent homes, and for the accommodation and shelter of four million men for four years of war. There is an old proverb: "To move three times is like being burnt down once." Have the limits of necessity been preserved in these cases? Have we here cases of transgressions, as has been maintained by the Entente, press, which has quite lived on this theme during the last three months of the war?

Nobody would defend any such offence; there is nobody whose heart is not heavy at the mere thought of the possibility of gross guilt; no one who would or could defend or excuse any such guilt. The enemy's reports and accounts contain statements and documents which we are not able to completely refute. These single cases, however, cannot be tried before our tribunal. But the German nation, as a whole, repudiates them. Our adversaries have charged us with severe breaches of international law and inhumanity in the conducting of the war. In order to establish clearness, Hans Delbrück, together with some friends, has recently advocated the establishment of impartial commissions to judge in this matter — commissions of men who know what war is. But would they really be able to judge impartially? And if certain individuals have stained the army's shield of honour through serious offences, then may they meet with their punishment and earn the scorn of their own country, to which they have brought ten times more pain than to the enemy.

The French Government issued on October 5, 1918, the following statement: "The German Government has continually stated that should it ever happen that they were compelled to evacuate the occupied French territory, they would only leave behind them a territory absolutely stripped and plundered. This savage threat is now being fulfilled with methodical fury. The German armies, in order to revenge themselves for their continued defeats, are treating the towns and the country itself still

more mercilessly than they previously did the population. Nothing is spared to the unhappy inhabitants of our provinces. Driven away in masses, they see behind them how their houses and their factories, their schools and hospitals are burnt, how their churches are blown up, their fields and cultivations laid waste.

The French Government, in this matter of systematic breach of rights and humanity, has the imperious duty to issue a solemn reminder to Germany and those countries which are her accomplices in this monstrous work of plunder and destruction. Acts which are so opposed to all international laws and to even the fundamental principles of all human civilisation, will not remain unpunished. The German nation which takes part in such a crime will have to bear the consequences. The authors and principals of these crimes will be held responsible for them morally, legally and financially (moralement, pénalement et pécuniairement). In vain will they attempt to escape the inexorable expiation which awaits them."

In the «Illustration» of October 12, 1918, Henri Lavedan, a member of the French Academy, writes quite cold-bloodedly: "In order to bring home to the enemy the meaning of this payment of tooth for tooth, one could require that some exemplary destructions be executed by the Entente and be carried out "sans aucune gêne et avec une parfaite légèreté de conscience." And in the *Matin* of September 16, 1918, senator Lucien Cornet requests that each destruction committed without military necessity should be replied to, sooner or later, by a similar act of force on German soil. He demands Freiburg for Douai, Cologne for St. Quentin and Frankfort for Lille. Not only one voice in one paper, but a whole legion of voices has suggested in all earnestness, that at the signing of peace one should demand with the right of the victor, that all German prisoners should be detained and employed in restoring the ruins and that not one of them should be allowed to return until the French towns were re-built, stone for stone.

In vain did the German Government, during October 1918, protest against this renewed flood of imputations. We saw organized against us, a new, clever, comprehensive and uniformly directed atrocity campaign, out of whose tendency the public — and not only that in Germany — read only too clearly the wish to establish as broad a basis as possible for material peace demands. Our protests against this were either not published in the Entente press or else only in a distorted form; they have hardly penetrated to the neutrals. This statement expressly speaks of the legal question and of international laws, as being the axioms of human civilization against which the German armies are said to have transgressed. But just here, the legal question would have to be considered as to the limits of admissibility of such a priori actions. To place all destructions which have been perpetrated in the different theatres of war, without exception or differentiation, under a common denominator, is absurd and illogical. Still more absurd and unjust is it to place them all to the discredit



The destruction of Brussels by Marshal Villeroy in 1695
Etching by R. v. Orley, copied from A. Coppens

of Germany and, as Max Weber has recently briefly expressed it, "to impose upon us, in addition to the compensation, extra monetary obligations and compulsory work, under the pretext of damages caused, which have really originated out of the mere fact of war and mutual acts."

In the first place it must be stated with all earnestness, emphasis and dignity, that in the case of the destruction of villages and the devastation of land, by light and heavy artillery, within the actual war-zone, especially on the extensive battlefields of the Flemish campaign, the Somme battlefields and those in the Champagne and near Verdun, the responsibility of authorship, in the opinion of all logically thinking persons, should be equally divided amongst both parties. When the French, in their own land, used one of their important art cities, such as Reims (which in 1871 was still an open town and only since then and without any opposition in France or from the international art-world, has been converted into a fortress), as one of the headquarters at the front and as a sally-port for the great spring campaign in 1917 in the Champagne, they thus compelled us to bombard this town and expel the enemy from it, just as was done in the northern section of the front in the case of Ypres, which was held by the English. On the other side, however, the English and French artillery, with complete cold-bloodedness and fully conscious of what they were doing, seemed to have no misgivings, under the similar pressure of military necessity, about bombarding and eventually totally crushing and ruining St. Quentin, into which not a single shell of ours had fallen. Neither had a single shell of ours been dropped in Noyon before of August 1918; the town was sacrificed as the result of a concentrated bombardment, especially in the centre of the town, by French guns of every calibre. We calmly acknowledge the heroism shown in such a cold calculation, which involved the conscious sacrifice of whole towns for the purpose of securing an ultimate victory. In reports on the condition of the architectural works in French and Belgian territory we will still have to mention what has already been said a hundred times, but not sufficiently repeated for the ears and conscience of our opponents as well as the neutrals — that the number of places which have been razed to the ground and the churches and castles which have been ruined by our enemies, is so enormous that they more than counterbalance the number of places which have been destroyed through our military operations. In two German publications¹⁾ an impressive list is given of the buildings and the places which have fallen victims to the fire of the French, English, and Belgians, from the villages and townships in the Woëvre plains, through the lowlands of the Champagne and the Somme, right up to the long front

¹⁾ Joseph Sauer, "The Destruction of Churches and Art Monuments on the West front", Freiburg, 1917. Appeared also in French. — Paul Clemen, "Destroyed Art Monuments on the West Front". Compiled for official purposes. Berlin, 1st and 2nd Editions, 1917. Appeared at the same time in French, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Polish.



The destruction of Brussels by Marshal Villeroy in 1695
Etching by R. v. Orley, copied from A. Coppens



Cerny-en-Laonnais. Remnants of the church



Craonne in June 1918. To the left, remnants of the church

of the last bloody battles in Flanders and the battles on the Aisne, where for a depth of many miles the enemy artillery ploughed up everything. Our enemies have never for a moment hesitated to destroy whole towns and villages, when military necessity demanded it, and in the first place they always directed their fire against the churches, castles, and other big buildings, as if they were natural observation posts and mustering places. In an article of October 20 in the *Kölnische Zeitung* it was pointed out that all these were cases of actions of immediate military importance, which had been systematically planned and carried out. I will just mention several sentences: — "Beyond any doubt, it must require an astonishing vigour of mind and soul to arrive at a decision which allows the artillery of one's allies to engage in such a wholesale, altogether too awful, destruction of national and private works in order to achieve this military purpose. It requires an intense degree of patriotism and the suppression of all personal interests in favour of those of the whole nation to make such an enormous sacrifice, humbly and perhaps with inward despair, for nation and country. There can be no one, and least of all a German, who is not able to rightly value such a terrible sacrifice. But the greater, the more tragic the sacrifice is, the more infamous it is afterwards to shift the consequences of such a far-reaching decision on to so heavily smitten an enemy."

Against the statement that no enemy shells had fallen in Cambrai and Douai, the German military authorities have placed the official records of the shells of different calibre which fell on each day in both towns, in the case of Douai, from September 17 till October 3, in Cambrai, from September 17 till October 8. It is accurately recorded on which days the town was shot into flames. At the end of October, Churchill boasted in Glasgow that during the recent weeks more than 10 000 tons of shells had been projected every day for fifteen days, against the enemy front, and the hostile press constantly and proudly emphasised how the Entente had made fullest use of its superior artillery, by squandering their immense supplies of ammunition, in the most reckless manner; to this overwhelming superiority our troops had ultimately to give way. But our enemies are trying to evade the simple logical deduction, that out of the increased destruction caused by this great superiority of the enemy artillery, of whose ultimate achievement they can well be proud, much must necessarily be attributed to them. The time of excited charges should be passed — now one should discuss quite objectively and dispassionately the pros and cons. One would like to recall the wise words of a noble Swiss lover of art, Ferdinand Vetter: "To one who hopes for a return of friendly relations between the countries at present so sadly estranged, there is in this mutual participation in the outrages against art — in spite of the sadness of what has happened — still something that is reconciling and consoling. It was the imperious necessity of war, either actual or only imaginary, which caused the owners of these monuments as well as the enemy to sacrifice these noblest results of human worship and love of beauty to the higher purpose which in their opinion the war had in view. To what extent this higher valuation of civic and national over human and artistic rights was justified, and whether in different cases the preservation of these rights could not in single cases have still permitted a certain protection of what has been destroyed, only the future will be able to decide."



Cloister of Vaulère on the Ailette, south of Laon, 1918

II. Organization for the Protection of Art at the German Theatres of War By Otto von Falke

When art specialists served in their official capacity in campaigns of the past, their work was centred less upon the protection than upon the exploitation of enemy art property. At the beginning of the world-war the opposite task, represented by an official service of protection and preservation of art treasures in enemy country, which had been imperilled through our own warfare, was still new and untested and therefore problematical; from the very beginning experience was lacking as to how and by what means protection of works of art could be accomplished, amidst the rush of a quickly advancing campaign. It is a well-known fact, equally deplorable for all belligerents but none the less indisputable, that war and protection of art are two things which scarcely harmonise with one another, and that war produces unavoidable situations of military necessity, before which considerations of art have to yield in helplessness. In spite of the uncertainty of success, this task was regarded in Germany as an urgent duty, when our armies advanced into Belgium under heavy fighting and carried the inevitable dangers of war into a land, richly blessed as few others are with irreplaceable and precious creations of a glorious artistic past, equally appreciated by all art-loving nations. In Germany one was quite conscious of the priceless treasure that was at stake, and the German administration was just as concerned for its preservation as the nation itself to whom this long-inherited possession belonged.

The anxiety of those officials who were entrusted with the cultivation of art in Germany, chiefly concerned the movable works of art which were distributed in churches and collections throughout the whole land and which appeared to be immediately threatened through the war. It was to be reasonably expected that the Belgian conservators and clerical administrative bodies, as the natural trustees, would adopt effective precautionary means for safe-guarding their treasures in time, as actually was the case in most places, except where the unexpectedly rapid circumstances of war hindered conscientious attention to the matter. One had also to take into account the danger of untrustworthy elements taking advantage of insufficient supervision, to misappropriate movable works of art whose disappearance could eventually be attributed to the belligerents. Investigations had to be made with regard to the inventions of the hostile press, which reported German thefts of art works from churches and collections, and even the misappropriation of the contents of the Brussels museums.

Even during the first months of war, the Prussian Kultusministerium, acting upon the proposal of the chief superintendent of the Prussian museums, Wilhelm von Bode, approached the Governor-General of Belgium and the Department of Internal Affairs, which controlled the administration of

the occupied territories, with suggestions for the protection of art. Originally it was intended that the most able Belgian art officials should receive permission and the necessary means for travelling from the General Government, in order to be able to ascertain for themselves the condition and whereabouts of the art treasures of their land and enquire as to their ultimate safety. As this proved to be impracticable, the author of this article, Director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, was appointed on September 12, 1914, to the civil administration in Brussels and entrusted with the task of ascertaining through personal observation the actual condition of all monuments of art, attending to their safety as far as possible and of finding out what was still present in situ and who remained responsible for the works already rescued. In cases of emergency portable works of art were to be removed from threatened places in the vicinity of hostilities, to the safe refuge of the Brussels Museums.

In the autumn of 1914 these precautionary measures were applied only in a few cases, because after the taking of Antwerp and the unresisted occupation of the Flemish art towns, with the exception of those in the war zone, the art possessions were scarcely threatened. Later, however, they acquired considerable practical importance and became the chief task in the protection of art in 1917, when simultaneously with the English offensive the air-attacks extended their destructive work to the hinterland of the Flemish front and coast. At first, upon the initiative of First lieutenant Flesche, who was active in the preservation of monuments in the chief department of the Marine Corps, effective protective arrangements against the danger from aviators were made in Bruges itself, then the rescue and removal of works of art and the contents of archives from the whole of Western Flanders was begun. The German authorities for the preservation of art worked here in connection with the Belgian Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites, so that the local provincial representative of the Commission Royale generally undertook the selection of the works of art and science which were to be transported to the safety depots at Brussels, Bruges, Courtray and Tournay, whilst the art experts (Frh. Schenk zu Schweinsberg and Dr. Feulner), who were active in the Marine Corps and the headquarters of the IV. and VI. armies, supervised the transport with the vigorous support of the German military railway and civil authorities. After 1916, Museumsassistent Bersu (Stuttgart), was permanent art-adviser in the chief administration of Flanders and was especially concerned in the needs of the Belgian Museums.

In the autumn of 1914, Professor Milkau, Director of the Breslau Library, was sent to Belgium by the Kultusministerium to carry out the first examination and inspection of libraries and archives.

From the very beginning, effective preservation of the architectural monuments in the war zone was accompanied by many great difficulties, as in view of the military necessity of destroying all observation posts, coins of vantage and cover for the enemy, the wish for the protection of art monuments had to be suppressed by all belligerents. In Germany one had full confidence that in the German method of conducting the war, there would be every possible avoidance of injury to art monuments; a confidence which could rest upon the fact that many towns of Belgium and France which were taken by our troops without resistance had sustained no damage whatever, and that even in the besieged places such as Liège and Antwerp the historical architectural works had not suffered. The disaster of Louvain, however, in which the library, left unprotected, was completely burnt down, taught the lesson that protection must also be extended to architectural monuments, that timely warning would have to be given in cases of danger, attention drawn to the artistic importance of threatened works, and protection given as far as possible and repairs be carried out where damage had been inflicted. On October 20, 1914, at the suggestion of the Kultusministerium, Paul Clemen, professor for history of art at Bonn, who for many years had been entrusted with the preservation of monuments in the Rhine province, was appointed to this responsible section of art protection in Belgium. In the following month he received a similar appointment for France. Provided with a cabinet order from the Kaiser, dated January 1, 1915, which empowered him to hasten to the front in each case of urgency, he was commissioned by the supreme military authorities "to visit the operation and etape territory in order to ascertain the condition of works of architecture and to adopt measures for their preservation". In the autumn of 1915, the order was extended also to the East and on January 3, 1917, to the whole of the German theatres of war. As the result of this, beginning at the end of 1914,

numerous journeys of inspection were made in the operation and etape territory (most frequently in France), and a large number of detailed reports and requests submitted to the Quartermaster-General and the supreme commanders of the armies at the West front and the Kultusministerium in Berlin. These not only had the purpose of ascertaining the extent of the damage caused to buildings by both German and enemy warfare, of learning the results of the examination of art collections and castles, and of stimulating the adoption of suitable protective measures, but also served to intensify the feeling of responsibility in the different head-quarters towards the preservation of works of art, through repeated and urgent reminders, thereby bringing about the organization of a permanent department for the systematic preservation of art in the occupied territory. On March 2, 1915, the Quartermaster-General issued appropriate instructions for the protection of art (cf. the following report by Demmler); their practical effect however was dependent upon the co-operation of experts. In December 1914 the first rescue work of imperilled art works in occupied territory was ordered by the German military authorities; the Museumsdirektor Keune (Metz) interested himself, with success, in the protection of the most valuable monuments on the Lorraine front. In acknowledgment of a memorandum by Clemen, dated October 2, 1914, which advocated the establishment of a systematic preservation of art in the French occupied territory, the Kaiser expressed himself immediately on October 8, as being in perfect sympathy with its aims. During 1915, the appointment of experts for the West front was requested in numerous appeals to the supreme military authorities and to the Prussian Kultusminister, for the purpose of removing the art works in public and private possession from the danger zone and delivering them into the custody of the French museums in the etape zone. Unfortunately, at this time, when many art works which were later damaged were still intact, they matter was deferred, as one had to wait for the organization of a German administrative department in France. Not until October 7, 1916, after renewed representations from the Kultusminister, was Museumsdirektor Theodor Demmler (Berlin) called to the Western head-quarters and appointed permanent adviser for the preservation of monuments.

At this stage of the work, in addition to the discovery of art works which were in need of protection, it was a matter of the practical questions concerning their removal from the firing zone, and making suggestions to the separate armies for the safeguarding of the transports and the provision of adequate and suitable salvage-rooms within the French boundaries. At last, suitable rooms were found in the museums at Valenciennes and Maubeuge, where a considerable part of the rescued works were catalogued and exhibited in a manner easy to control. In spite of the increasing danger from aviators, these two refuge places fulfilled their purpose, until the last stage of the war necessitated a still further transport from Valenciennes to Brussels. The general guiding-lines for the protection of art issued by the Quartermaster-General in 1917, determined that government and municipal works of art which were imperilled in places near the front should be removed into safety by the authoritative French officials, under the superintendence of an art expert appointed by the local army-headquarters. The French officials were to be assisted in every way in providing material and labouring hands and in their negotiations with the railway officials; their opinions concerning the place of destination were also to be heard. Records had to be taken of the rescue of all important works. Art treasures in ecclesiastical or private possession were only to be removed into safety upon written application by the owners or their representatives; for absent owners of art works a trustee (a mayor, an ecclesiastic, etc.) who could apply for the removal, was to be appointed.

In order to be able to cope with the vast work of rescue in the extensive territory on the Western front, which was frequently rendered very difficult through the inadequacy of the means of transport, further art specialists besides those already named were entrusted with the protection of art in the different armies; here were active as art officers in France, Dr. v. Hadeln, Dr. Feulner, Dr. Burg, Prof. Pinder, Dr. Reiners, First Lieut. Dr. Weise, as well as Prof. Keune, Prof. Foy, Dr. Burchard and Captain Prof. Rolfs. In January 1918, Museumsdirektor Lehner (Bonn) visited the Western front by order of the Archaeological Institute, in order to make suggestions for the protection of archaeological works of art and collections.

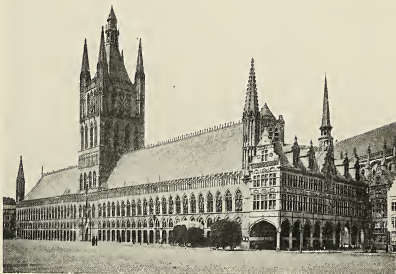
At the Eastern theatre of war, the systematic destruction of villages, castles, and estates by the

Russians during their retreat simply served the purpose of hindering the German pursuit, a striking proof of the fact that our enemies under the pressure of military necessity have likewise shown any indulgence to buildings or private property. On August 29, 1915, the War-conference for the Preservation of Monuments at Brussels forwarded a suggestion to the Reichskanzler and the Prussian Minister of War, for the quickest possible extension of an organised protection of art and monuments to the occupied territory in the East. Paul Clemen undertook this organisation in the autumn of 1915. On September 30, 1915, he was appointed to the headquarters of the German General Government for the purpose of investigating the present condition of all kinds of monuments. During his journeys in the district of the General Government of Warsaw, in Lithuania and Courland, he visited the buildings of artistic and historical value, churches as well as castles, examined their artistic contents as far as they were still extant, and reported in memoranda to the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief in the East. The support of the German administration was given to the Polish National Committee for the Preservation of Antiquities in Warsaw, which was recognised as a suitable and proved organization for the practice of art protection. Different proposals to the military and civil authorities in Lithuania, Wilna, and Courland, aimed at the temporary protection of unguarded libraries and archives, a task which Geh. Archivrat Warschauer had taken charge of in the General Government. An appeal to the headquarters of the 10th Army resulted in April in the appointment to Wilna of the Professor of Art-history at Jena, Paul Weber, as permanent superintendent of monuments in Lithuania. A report by Clemen upon the monuments at Riga, dated September 5, 1917, certified the complete removal of all portable art treasures and archives by the Russians.

At the beginning of 1917, a control of the art collections in the occupied territory of Roumania was established by the Quartermaster-General, for which purpose Professor Braune of the Munich Pinakothek was appointed to the military Government at Bucharest. Paul Clemen, who visited the Balkans in 1917 and 1918 at the order of the Supreme Headquarters, included the historical buildings of Macedonia in the range of his investigations; in connection with the work of the geographical Commission for Macedonia, which had been appointed by the Prussian Kultusminister, photographs of noteworthy mediaeval architecture were taken, whilst simultaneously Professor Dragendorff (Berlin) devoted himself to ancient architecture.

The Italian theatre of war came into consideration for the German art department only in the autumn of 1917, after the occupation of the Friuli territory by the 14th Army. Although the movable art works of great value in the churches and museums and the most important archives had been removed by the Italians during several years to the safety of the hinterland, the headquarters of the 14th Army, nevertheless, through a repeated order in November and December, reminded the local commanding authorities of their duty towards the protection of art works. The art property and the monuments in need of attention in the occupied territory had to be registered, destruction and the removal of art property were to be hindered, imperilled collections and buildings containing artistic furniture were to be closed or guarded by sentries. The occupation of churches and other buildings of historical importance was to be avoided as far as possible. Where a local protection was impracticable, a removal to places in the rear which were permanently superintended should be carried out. This activity, which here just as on the other fronts, was hampered and limited by the insufficient means of transport, was first effectively practised at the castle of San Salvatore on the Piave, which had been unsparingly bombarded by the Italians; over forty truckloads of art works and furniture were removed to the Town Hall of Conegliano. The execution of the German art protection was in the hands of experts, chosen from the interpreting officers, who were at first attached to the Etappeninspektion 14, and later to the German intermediate department at Udine. The following officials attended to the safe-guarding and arranging of libraries and archives: Lt. Dr. Ebert, and Sergt. Dr. Hessel for art monuments, Lt. Dr. Graeff from the Pinakothek at Munich, the architect Lt. Prof. Kurz and Captain Dr. Mannowsky, who compiled the concluding report of the work. The control of the precautionary measures for works of art and science was assigned to the author of this article by the Quartermaster-General at the suggestion of the Kultusminister.

The monuments of the past at the Oriental theatre of war were less affected by war operations than by the demands of an intensified building activity for war purposes. In order to limit the improper use as building material of remnants of ancient art, which called for protection, the superintendence of an expert with military authority was necessary. The preservation of monuments which was ordered by General Djemal Pascha and had been entrusted to Museumsdirektor Prof. Theodor Wiegand (Berlin), then appointed inspector-general of the antiquities in Syria, Palestine, and Western Arabia, was suggested from the German side and undertaken by German archaeologists in military service, who were familiar with the country. What has been attempted and attained in this vast territory and in Asia Minor with regard to art protection and research during this war, is to be found in the reports of Th. Wiegand and G. Karo.



Ypres. The Halls before the fire

III.

Monuments and Preservation of Art in Belgium

By Paul Clemen and Gerhard Bersu

In the autumn of 1914, voices of complaint and accusation at the sufferings which the kingdom of Belgium had to endure during the first months of the war, flashed throughout the whole world. We share the sorrow at the losses which were inflicted upon several parts of this beautiful land in the autumn months of 1914; how slight, however, these appear to be to-day in comparison with those losses which the following years of war caused on French soil and in Western Flanders. In compiling the list of losses one must constantly realise that, fortunately, the monuments of the chief towns, Brussels and Antwerp, of the three important Flemish centres of art, Ghent, Bruges, and Tournay, all the monuments of Liège, as well as those of Courtray, Hal, Nivelles, Oudenarde, Mons, Tirlemont, St. Trond, Tongern, Léau, have come out of these first battles completely unharmed. The first destruction of 1914 has not been forgotten, but has been exceeded by that of the succeeding years.

Solicitude on the part of the German authorities for those works of art which had been imperilled through the war operations began immediately after our occupation of the country. The first measures that were adopted have been treated exhaustively in a previous report upon the organization for the protection of art during the war. Upon the suggestion of the Prussian Kultusministerium, Otto von Falke (Berlin), was appointed to the department for the protection of art by the Department for Internal Affairs, immediately after the establishment of the General Government. In the middle of October, Paul Clemen was deputed by the same authorities to attend especially to architecture. In a number of reports during October, Falke dealt with the condition of the Belgian art monuments, in particular with the museums and portable works of art; further there were the reports of Clemen, treating exclusively of architecture. These reports form the basis for the immediately adopted measures and instructions of the authorities. At the War Conference for the Preservation of Monuments held at Brussels, Falke, on August 29, gave a survey of the administration for art monuments and Clemen, in his introductory address to this session, on August 28, described in detail the condition of the large works of architecture¹).

After the first precautionary measures for the protection of Belgian art monuments and museums had been carried out, it did not appear to be immediately necessary to create a permanent department for this work in the German administrative department. Only when the war became indefinitely protracted was a permanent office attached in the summer of 1916 to the chief administrative department of the Governor-General in Belgium, under the charge of the art critic, Bersu, assistant to the Archæological Collection at Stuttgart. The principal function of this department was to permanently superintend the museums, to protect them against interference from unauthorized departments, and to negotiate with the German departments for the requirements of the museums, such as the supply of coal and the repairing of damaged buildings, etc. The result reached was that during the further course of the war the Belgium museums suffered no losses whatever. The art gallery of the town of Arlon, which was accommodated in the Town Hall of Arlon, was the only loss sustained through the war, during this period. The building was struck by an English air-bomb in the summer

¹) The reports of Falke (Sept. 18, 25, Oct. 5, Nov. 2, 1914), first published in the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", have been reprinted by O. Grautoff, Kunstverwaltung in Frankreich und Deutschland, Bern, M. Drechsel, 1915, p. 64. Ibid. p. 62, W. v. Bode, Aufgaben und Richtlinien der deutschen Regierung für die Erhaltung der Kunstdenkmäler in den besetzten Gebieten. The accounts of Clemen (Nov. 2, 1914, and June 16, 1915) in the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", later by O. Grautoff, pp. 75, 95, by Clemen, Der Schutz und Zerstörung der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz (pamphlet 146 of the Dürerbund 1915 p. 6). The reports from Brussels are printed in the stenographic account of the War Conference for the Preservation of Monuments in Brussels, August 21 and 29, 1915, Berlin, Wilhelm Ernst, 1915. Clemen's report appeared also separately, enlarged and with illustrations, under the title: Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst LI, 1916, p. 49, and in book-form, Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1916.

of 1918, which destroyed a very great part of the collection, which, by the way, was unimportant. A year before this misfortune, the town of Arlon and the archaeological institute of the province of Luxembourg, who were the owners of the Arlon collections, were offered an opportunity of removing the paintings and the archaeological collection (accommodated in the High School) into safety in an old empty Church. The necessary building-materials for equipping the Church for this purpose had already been prepared by the German authorities, and the Church itself, which up till then had been used as a military depot, had been granted for the purpose, when suddenly the use of the church as a museum was declined by the Arlon municipal authorities. Thus the town of Arlon incurred this war loss through its own refusal.



Louvain. Church of St. Peter
Interior of the choir after the fire

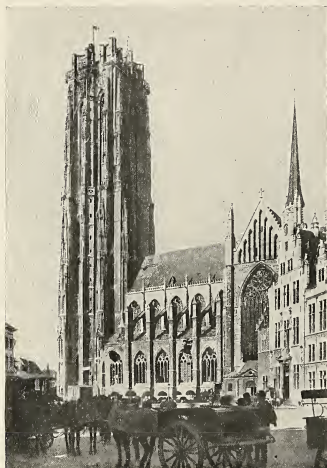


Louvain. Church of St. Peter
The western wing after the fire

To-day, when the war-psychosis is over, one can consider the exaggerations of the first excited reports with calmness and regard them in their right proportions¹⁾. The historian and lawyer will collate the assertions and evidence brought forward by both sides and will attempt to deduce the

¹⁾ From Belgian and French sides we have ample reports. The official Belgian material is incorporated in the publications: *La violation du droit des gens en Belgique. Rapports de la commission d'enquête*, 2 vol. Paris 1915., Berger-Levrault — *Les violations des lois de la guerre par l'Allemagne* (publication faite par les soins du ministère des affaires étrangères), Paris, Berger-Levrault 1915. — *Réponse au livre blanc allemand du 10 mai 1915*, publication du ministère de la justice et du ministère des affaires étrangères belges, Paris 1917 (volume of 535 pages). — Jean Massart, *Comment les Belges résistent à la domination allemande*, Paris, Payot & Co. 1916. — A. Masson, *L'invasion des Barbares*, Lausanne, Payot & Co. 1915. — *La Belgique héroïque et martyre*, special number of *L'art et les artistes* 1915. — Marius Vachon, *Les villes martyres de France et de Belgique*, Paris, Payot & Co. 1915. — A. de Gerlache de Gomery, *La Belgique et les Belges pendant la guerre*, Paris 1917. — Chiefly historical are the contents of the four volumes *Villes meurtries en Belgique*: 1. E. Verhaeren, Anvers, Malines et Lierre. 2. Dumont-Wilden, Bruxelles et Louvain. 3. J. Destrée, Les villes Wallonnes. 4. Pierre Nothomb, Villes de Flandre. — For the whole question, see the detailed publication by Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La guerre et les œuvres d'art en Belgique*, Brussels and Paris, van Oest Co. 1917.

truth, they will also weigh the evidence in proportion to the opportunity which the witnesses had of actually seeing and observing. Both sides have learnt to see things in another light, have recognized errors, have learnt from time. To-day it is no longer necessary to speak about the historic cause of the disaster of Louvain. All the detailed information which has been produced has not been able to remove the fact from the world that in the night between August 24 and 25, 1914, our troops were to have fallen victims to an ambush in Louvain, which had long been prepared. According to the evidence of the official records, a tenth of the town, an eighth of the houses (exclusively in the neighbourhood of the railway station and in the two parallel streets leading



Malines. The Cathedral after the bombardment in August 1914



Malines. Interior of the Cathedral after the bombardment in August 1914

to the centre of the town, i. e. chiefly in the modern part, which is less distinguished by architectural monuments) were destroyed as the result of the subsequent fighting and the carrying-out of the German military sentence. The responsibility for all that has here happened must be placed exclusively upon the military authorities. The much admired work of Matthæus de Layens, the Town Hall, whose structural form is completely covered by plastic decoration, has been preserved intact, thanks to the foresight of the commander of the German troops, who ordered the burning neighbouring houses to be blown up¹). Even during the fire, thanks to the energy and self-sacrifice of German officers,

¹) Concerning Louvain, cf. Jean Massart a. o. p., p. 66. — Kervyn de Lettenhove p. 75. Hervé de Gruben, *Les Allemands à Louvain*, p. 127. Paul van Houtte, *Le crime de Guillaume II et la Belgique*, Paris, Picard 1915, p. 83. In the Publications du comité catholique de propagande française à l'étranger the compilation of Raoul Naroy, *Le supplice de Louvain, faits et documents*. Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1915. The German account in the above-mentioned reports of Falke and Clemen. The documents in the White-book, published by the military investigation department for the Violation of War-Conventions in the War-Office; the illegal conducting of the Belgian guerilla warfare. Section D. Louvain, Berlin, Reichsdruckerei, 1915. From the other side are declarations in the *Livre gris du Gou-*



Louvain. View of the Town Hall and Church of St. Peter from the market-place 1915

the most precious portable treasures out of the church of St. Peter were saved and placed in the Town Hall; amongst these works were the two well-known paintings by Dierk Bouts, including "The Lord's Supper". In the autumn of 1916, those ruins which threatened to collapse and whose owners declared themselves unwilling to rebuild were pulled down for reasons of safety, with the exception of façades of special architectural value. The Cathedral of St. Peter, whose roof was attacked by fire on that night of horrors, received a carefully erected emergency-roof even before the beginning of the winter¹).

vernement Belge, p. 299, ff. and the documents collected by the Commission d'enquête. The commanding general of the IX. Res. A. K. von Boehn testifies in his declaration (Weißbuch, p. 12) that the complete staff loss during this night attack was 5 officers, 2 officials, 23 men and 95 horses. The reports of 50 sworn officers and military persons agree with this. One cannot shake these facts. In the "Daily News", December 9, 1918, William Archer again opposed the standpoint that the German general was to be held responsible for the fire in Louvain. It seems an impossible deduction to represent the events in Louvain as having been the consequence of a panic amongst the German troops, as the Belgian legend states.

¹) When the highly respected librarian Delannoy in (*La Belgique héroïque et martyre*, p. 42) writes (from a distance): "De la superbe Collégiale de Louvain il ne reste qu'une carcasse vide et décharnée", this is an equally inexcusable exaggeration as the "monceau de ruines" of the Reims Cathedral in the statement of Delcassé. The inventory of the furniture before the fire is registered in the *Inventaire des objets d'art existants dans les édifices publics des communes de l'arrondissement de Louvain*, Brussels, 1906, p. 14; the list of losses is to be found in Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. 77. The Lord's Supper by Dierk Bouts, which was saved by German officers, is illustrated in a special number of *L'art et les artistes: La Belgique héroïque et martyre*, with the title; *L'incendie, par miracle, n'a fait qu'effleurer ce chef-d'œuvre que des mains pieuses, semble-t-il, ont réussi à sauver*. In reality absolutely nothing happened to the picture — but "effleurer" — that sounds better and more effective. The names of the two German officers who effected the rescue of the painting are *Leutnant d. Res. Paeschke* and *Hauptmann d. Res. Thelemann*.

The loss of the library in Louvain, which was demolished during this night, together with the whole block of houses in which it stood unprotected by fire-proof walls, was very painful and was as earnestly regretted and lamented in Germany as abroad. There were no attendants or officials present, no one who could draw the attention of the German commanding authorities to the existing danger. According to the report of the director, the scholarly M. Delannoy, the library itself, however, was not one of the most important. It contained more than a quarter of a million volumes, 500 manuscripts and about 800 originals¹⁾. The bitter and depressing thought remains: Could not at least this misfortune have been averted?

To us it seems an almost incomprehensible fact that the four breaches, which the Cathedral St. Romuald at Malines received in the autumn of 1918, have not been repaired long ago as was the case everywhere else in Belgium. The southern side-aisle has been completely enclosed from within



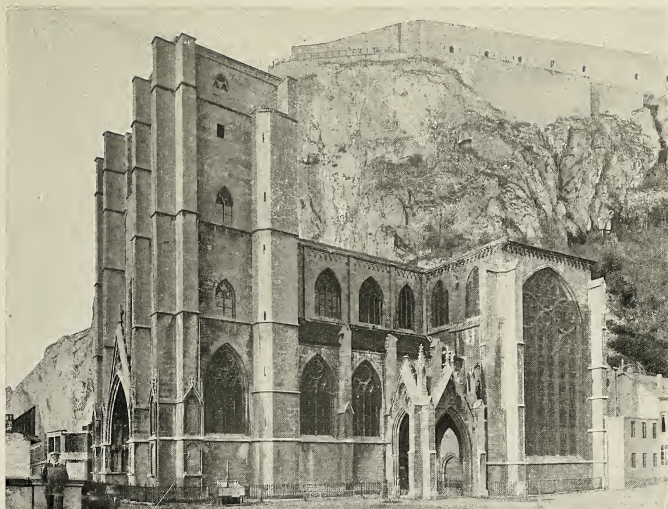
Louvain, plan of the town, 1914

The black spots indicate the buildings destroyed by the fire; all others were preserved

by timbering, but the breaches are still visible. One is almost forced to the conclusion that the authorities were more concerned with being able to refer to this evidence of the German bombardment, after the war, than they were with preparing for the systematic repairing of the cathedral itself.

In Dinant, the masonry of the beautiful early Gothic Liebfrauenkirche resisted the fire, which destroyed the roof of the church and thereby the cupola of the high pumpkin-shaped chief tower, whilst the vault itself remained uninjured. A month after the fire, service was again held in the church,

¹⁾ As constant rumours arose that serviceable remnants of the library still lay under the debris of the building, excavations under the direction of an archaeologist and by order of the head of the administration were organized in the ruins inside the building in summer 1917. This work showed that the complete literary contents of the building were destroyed at the time of the fire.



The Cathedral of Dinant after the fire in the roof, 1915

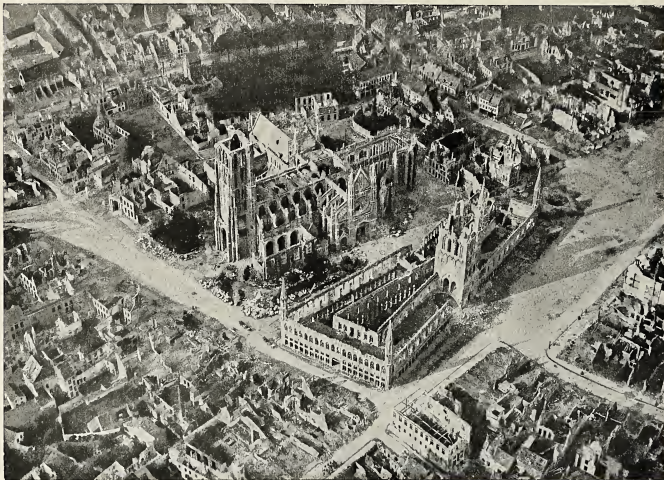
and during the course of the winter it received a temporary roof¹). The damages to the large late Gothic Gommarius Church at Lier and to the Pilgrims' Church at Walcourt, were very soon repaired, at first provisionally, and then permanently; also in Aershot and in Dendermonde, those historic monuments which were damaged during the first war operations were very soon restored.

But what is all this destruction in comparison with the devastation on the Flanders front? Ypres, so long fought for, is a town of the past. It was the intention of the German military authorities to save the town, and the Kaiser himself had used his influence in order that it should be spared a bombardment, but the fact that the town had become the centre-point of the English front, the turning-point for the Yser line, produced here again a military necessity, stronger than all the interests for monuments²). The wonderful Halls, the grandest and most concentrated of all those Flemish

¹) Reports concerning the events in Dinant are to be found in the White-book of the Foreign-Office: Department C. Belgian franc-tireur fighting in Dinant from August 21—24, 1914. Here also, according to the abundance of witnesses and evidence, there can be no doubt that the German troops were systematically shot upon from houses and cellars by franc-tireurs on August 21, 23, 24. One should follow conscientiously the collective account by Major Bauer and Kammergerichtsrat Dr. Wagner. The fate of the town has again been described in the memoir "Dinant", written by order of the Governor-General for Belgium, München, Roland-Verlag, 1918.

²) The long-announced intention of the protection was everywhere admitted in the French reports during the autumn of 1914. In "Temps" Pierre Mille imagines a romantic solution: «L'artillerie allemande a respecté Ypres, tant le César allemand a espéré y pouvoir faire une entrée triomphale... C'est le jour où cet espoir (to take the town) lui échappa qu'Ypres fut bombardée. Pas avant.» Similarly in the Figaro. Cf. M. Vachon, *Les villes martyres de France et de Belgique*, p. 156.

Concerning the increasing destruction of the cathedral of St. Martin cf. Kervyn de Lettenhoven, p. 140, and P. Nothomb, *Les Barbares en Belgique*, p. 147, as well as the illustrations of 1915, by the first named, and Clemens, *Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 16, where the fate of the buildings during the first years of the war has been described in detail.



Birds'-eye view of Ypres. Air-photograph of the Service photographique d'aviation belge (August 1915)

Halls, in which municipal pride has found such monumental embodiment, were severely damaged as early as November 1914. The fire extended to the roof. Just as in Rheims, the scaffolding which was erected in front of the belfry for repair purposes was the misfortune of the whole building, as it provided fuel for the fire. The upper Halls were completely burnt out even then. The 70 m tower, on which was an observer who could not be frightened away even by constant shrapnellfire, was razed to the ground at the end of July, and since then the walls of the huge building have been destroyed more and more. The last aeronaut photographs reveal a perfectly hopeless picture. The heart stops when one's gaze rests on these crushed fragments of masonry, all that remains of that noble creation of Balduin of Flanders, which Maeterlinck once named in Keats' words, "a joy for ever". If one had hoped that the Cathedral of St. Martin would be preserved, at least in its outer walls, there also these hopes have been shattered. The English used the town as the sally-port for the battles in Flanders and thereby compelled the German artillery to bombard with increased intensity the town which had been so passionately defended by them. The municipal museum, as we learned from Belgium sources, has been burnt down, the museum Merghelynck, which once gave such a compact and charming picture of the whole of the 18th century, exists no more; also the small library has been destroyed. To have to witness the gradual and inevitable destruction of this noble town from its immediate neighbourhood, belongs to the keenest pain which this war has brought to us.

On the old Flanders front there is first of all the unfortunate Dixmuiden, once rivalling Ypres in picturesque beauty. It had already suffered severely during those days of October 1914, when our artillery tried to force a passage over the Yser; since then the town had ever increasingly and systematically been wrecked by the English guns, so that now the church of St. Nicholas, the Town Hall, the court of the Beguines and the old picturesque streets are completely demolished. The vaults of the massive church of St. Nicholas fell in during the first battles and in the course of



Ypres. Air-photograph of an Australian aviator, giving a view of the Halls and Cathedral ruins in April 1918



Ypres. The town with the Halls and the Cathedral. Air-photograph, summer of 1918



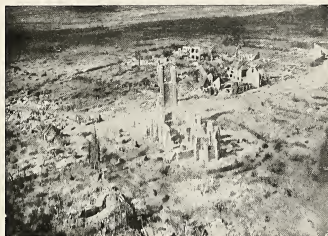
Dixmuiden. The Town Hall, 1914



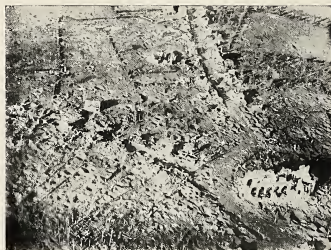
Dixmuiden. The Court of the Beguines 1914



Dixmuiden. Air-photograph of the town, which was totally destroyed by English artillery, May 1918



The ruins of Beclaeere with its Church, spring of 1918



Passchendaele. Air-photograph, spring of 1918

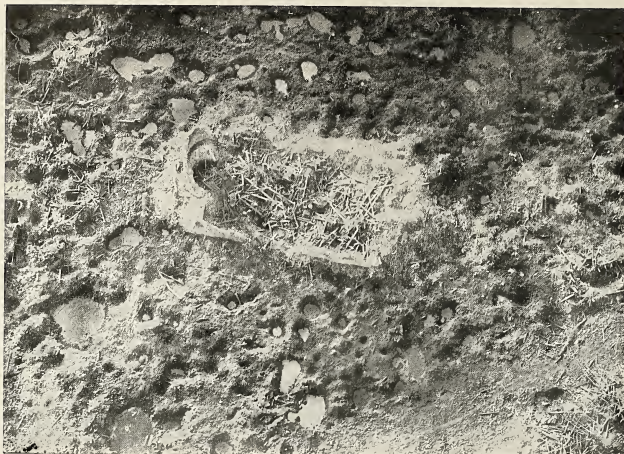
the incessant enemy bombardment the whole church collapsed. It was a vast extension of a former Romanesque building, originating from the 13th and 15th centuries, and together with the churches of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Tournay, represented the mightiest creation of the Gothic style on Flemish soil. The most painful loss in this church was the late Gothic gallery, the most important and imposing of all the galleries of Belgium, richer and more elaborate than all other works of this class. This choice work has been converted, one might say, into a desolate heap of small fragments by English and Belgian shells, this work, which collapsed during the first battles for the town, but which could still have been reconstructed. German scholars who were at the front, searched for remnants of sculpture and bronze screening which were buried amongst the débris, in order to save them for the history of Belgian art. These remnants, after it had been certified that all that was to be saved had been rescued, were removed to Stuttgart for their safety and in order to be reconstructed there and preserved until the first opportunity should be offered for their return. How much the enemy's artillery left over of the formerly fascinating town, which bore its name "flos et lumen Flandriae" with so much right and dignity, is shown on the last terrible air-photograph¹⁾.

As far as we could judge, it seemed as if the Belgian authorities did not do their utmost to protect, in time, the works of art in that small part of the land which was not in our possession. According to Belgian reports, during the confusion of the first battle on the Yser, no one thought of trying to rescue the movable works of art in the district of the Yser, which were abandoned to ruin in the war zone.

At Dixmuiden, one first attempted to rescue these works in December 1914. The "Musée Merghel-nynck" at Ypres, which got rather into disorder during the first months of the war, was rescued as far as possible and gradually it was also possible to bring into safety the most important works of art out of the neighbouring villages, such as Wulweringen, Oostkerke, Nieuwekapelle and Lampernisse. Unfortunately, on account of this work, the municipal museum of Ypres as well as the archives and the library were at first overlooked. In this way valuable collections were ruined which could probably have been saved if those in charge had shown greater zeal. The work of rescue also began too late in the church of St. Martin at Ypres. Several remaining objects were saved even at the beginning of 1915. An organization for the protection of art was established in the Town Hall in Furnes, under the direction of an architect from Brussels. As a result, the first salvage depot was formed in the deserted Abbey of Valloires in the Somme district. Had it not been that everybody in Dixmuiden lost his presence of mind during those first days, much could probably have been saved that was ruined through being left unprotected. On January 11, 1917, the "Messager de Bruxelles" brought the announcement that at the beginning of 1914 the chief work of Jordaens, "The Adoration of the Magi", had been removed by a local priest from the St. Nicholas Church in Dixmuiden to a neighbouring school. The headmaster of the school, who had no idea of the value of the picture, hung it up opposite the window in the assembly room. Then, when the window became damaged during the fighting, the Belgian defenders used the picture in order to block up the opening which had been caused. In this way it was destroyed, and when M. de Grootte, a former Deputy from Dixmuiden, wished to rescue it, it was too late.

At the extreme northern end of this front, lay the quiet town of Nieuport, once still more silent than its sisters, as Pierre Nothomb describes it, to-day only a heap of débris. The large church has

¹⁾ To-day it is as little possible to ascertain the share of the artillery on both sides in the ruins of this place, as it is in the case of other towns, which have lain for years in the firing line. Therefore it is important to compare the photographs after the first bombardments with the nothing of to-day. M. Vachon, in *Les villes martyres*, p. 139, begins his account of the first period of destruction with the words: «Bombardée pendant plusieurs semaines, prise et reprise sans cesse par les combattants des quatre armées adverses.» In connection with the first bombardment compare in detail Charles Le Goffic, *Dixmuiden*. Un chapitre de l'histoire des fusiliers marins, Paris, Plon, 1915. The merit of the first successful research and discovery belongs to Oberstabsarzt Dr. Rohdenwaldt. The excavations were afterwards finished by Dr. Creutz. Cf. Max Creutz, *Ausgrabungen in Dixmuiden*, *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XXIX, 1915, p. 65. — The same in the supplements to *Kriegszeitung*, d. 4. Armee Nr. 70 v. 24. Sept. 1916: According to investigations a reconstruction of the gallery lies within the realm of possibility and as much has been done as was possible to protect and preserve this work of art.



Poelcapelle. Air-photograph, spring of 1918

collapsed, the massive brick building of the Gothic Hall is now only a blackened ruin, the Town Hall, together with the small museum, is burnt out; was there also here no possibility of removing the best works to safety? This peaceful picture of the sleepy little town and the flourishing villages which extended throughout the fruitful plains between these two ends of the Ypres front (for four years contested for and heroically defended) has been converted into a desert. The more the battles wavered to and fro, the deeper became the zone of destruction. It is here very apparent that as long as the front was mainly stationary, the destruction to the west stood chiefly to our debit, to the east however, to that of the enemy. It is also obvious that the more the front of the Flanders battles and finally, the ebbing of the intense last battles, was transferred further east, the share of the enemy in the ensuing destruction had to increase with mathematical necessity in proportion to the manifold increased preponderance of his artillery. We sincerely recognise the heroism which must have possessed the Belgians, when they here sacrificed their own towns, and the history of war has to acknowledge the ultimate predominance of English troops and material. Only one must then deduce the consequences and not act as if one's own artillery had merely practised snow-balling¹).

We learn from Belgian reports which places have been destroyed by the other side — even during the war our opponents were able to learn from our reports the number of townships and villages which had been destroyed by them. Compensating justice here demands that also this list should be compiled.

In the part of Flanders which suffered especially severely during the last bombardment, the churches of Messines, Wyttschaete, Hollebeke, Langemark, Poelcapelle and other places, were totally destroyed even before the spring of 1917, by the enemy's guns. The churches at Vladesloo, Zillebeke,

¹) May I quote a sentence from a public letter which I addressed on May 17, 1915 to Albert Bartholomé (in answer to one addressed to me in the Temps, April 28): "Is there not an awful tragedy contained in the fact that the king of Belgium, who loves his unfortunate country as no other can, has himself to help in the transforming of the whole town of Dixmuiden into a sea of ruins?" (Printed in circular 146 of the Dürerbund.)

Zonnebeke, Eessen, Westroosebeke, Zandvoorde were all seriously damaged. In Messines also the large Royal Institute for the education of daughters of pensioned military officers (an endowment of the Empress Maria Theresia) in the buildings of the Benedictine Abbey which had been erected by the daughter of King Robert of France was totally and systematically demolished. The old castle in Hollebeke and the new castle in Voormezele were completely wrecked. The Hall of the large Gothic church in Warneton, south of Ypres, had already been absolutely destroyed, the choir with its effective Baroque stalls was greatly damaged, to-day the church is totally demolished. What still remained standing was then extinguished during the intensely bitter fighting of the last great Flemish battles. What has remained of Passchendaele, what of the long-contested Gheluveld, of Becelaere whose large battered church tower had outlasted the first years of war? The foundation of the church towers and the outer walls of the castles have either been razed to the ground through the incessant hail of iron, or else stand out like gruesome gigantic tusks; a swampy country of craters, many kilometers in depth, extends east of the line Ypres—Dixmuiden—Nieuport; the flourishing villages and the picturesque farms have disappeared; with their advance the English and Belgian shells brought death and decay as far as Roulers, Iseghem, Thielt and Courtray and finally as far as Audenarde and Tournay.

The first task of the German officials was to ascertain as far as possible the extent of the destruction and losses arising out of the war operations, in order to establish a basis for future measures, to publish official reports as to the extent of the damage for the anxious and justly agitated inhabitants, and in order to be able to refute the exaggerations and complete falsifications of facts which were circulated abroad. As early as autumn 1914, the German authorities did their best to promote the carrying out of the essential precautionary measures, the erection of emergency roofs, and in the same way they exercised care in protecting, as far as possible, the architectural monuments during the following years. The extensive ruins of the massive Cistercian Abbey, at Orval, gave reason for special anxiety. Just before the war the efforts of the Commission Royale des Monuments had led to an agreement with the owners, concerning the preservation of this valuable piece of architecture. The German Emperor, who had repeatedly visited and admired the ruins, full of anxiety at the threatened collapse of the walls, ordered the immediate carrying out of precautionary measures. Under the protection and with the assistance of the German authorities, Professor Cloquet, was able to begin the complicated work; the Commission Royale bears the responsibility for the whole restoration.

Protection of Art during War



The Lord's Supper by Dierick Bouts rescued in August 1914,
by the Germans from St. Peter's in Louvain

Then in the further course of the war the following measures were adopted for the protection of works of art in Belgium: Even as early as the spring of 1917, the violent English air-attacks on Bruges had caused First lieutenant Flesche (who had been entrusted by the supreme authorities of the marine corps with the care of art) in agreement with M. Küster, president of the civil administrative board, to protect especially valuable art-property in Bruges against the splintering effect of shells through suitable measures, such as woollen curtains, metal-plated window-shutters, wooden barricades, and packings of sand-bags. The English offensive, beginning in July 1917, which was accompanied by constantly increasing air-attacks on the hinter-land and long-fire bombardment of districts lying far to the rear, which up till then had remained untouched by the war, caused the thought of removing the imperilled objects, more especially out of the immediate fighting zone, to



The ruined Church at Mannekensvere in the autumn of 1917

become increasingly urgent. At the simultaneous suggestions of the President of the Civil Administration of Western Flanders in Bruges and the Commission Royale et des Sites in Brussels, the necessary sum for the protection of works of art in Flanders was granted by the chief of the administration in Brussels. In September 1917 a sum of 50 000 francs was transferred for this purpose from the treasury of the Belgian Finance Department to Bruges. When this sum later proved to be inadequate, a further sum of 50 000 francs was granted.

The chief commander of the marine corps gave permission to the painter Camille Tulpinck, resident in Bruges and member of the provincial committee of the Brussels Commission for the preservation of art, to remove into safety those works of art and historic interest, which were in ecclesiastical, civil, public and private buildings in the threatened zone of the country occupied by the marine corps. The selection of the works of art to be rescued was left to his discretion. The art critic Herr Catzenstein was appointed as military companion to assist M. Tulpinck and to facilitate communication with the military authorities. M. Tulpinck accordingly, without violating military

interests, was able to travel about in the district occupied by the marine corps, to confer with local Belgian officials and private persons and was frequently able to persuade the otherwise often averse church authorities to sanction the removal of those works of art which had been entrusted to their protection, to the salvage depot at Bruges. At Bruges, two rooms which were sufficiently protected against shells were assigned for the purpose by the marine corps authorities.

The best known works of art in the town, the paintings from the Johannis-Hospital and the most precious paintings of the museum which had been removed into safety at the beginning of the war by the Belgian authorities and were later exhibited at the suggestion of the German authorities, were rescued at the same time in Bruges itself and placed in security with the assistance of the German administration. For all of these irreplaceable treasures there was, naturally, constant imminent danger, and the German administration therefore urgently wished to remove these works of art to Brussels and place them under the protection of the Commission Royale. For reasons of a local patriotic nature, however, this could not be done.

After it had been proved that the work for the protection of art in the district occupied by the marine corps could be carried out quite smoothly and without any friction with either the native or the military authorities, it was possible, in accordance with the expressed wish both from the German and Belgian sides, to extend the measures for the protection of art to the whole operation territory of the Belgian front of the 4th army. The art critic Freiherr Schenck zu Schweinsberg, was appointed as expert adviser to the civil administration of Bruges and was commissioned to visit the threatened districts and in agreement with the Belgian owners and the German military authorities to adopt the necessary precautionary measures. He was supported in his work by the already existing Belgian organization for the protection of art and served really only as intermediary for the measures for art-protection which were to be executed upon the responsibility of the Belgian authorities. The selected works of art were removed to Brussels, where they were handed over immediately upon their arrival to the „Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites“ which, with German assistance, attended to the accommodation of the rescued works in the Law Courts at Brussels. Only in those places which had already been evacuated by the Belgian inhabitants did the art-expert order the removal of works upon his own responsibility. The transport was so arranged technically that triplicate dispatch-slips were used, containing the owner's statement that the removal took place with his sanction and at his responsibility. One copy was retained by the owner as a receipt, whilst the second and third copies were sent with the works themselves to Brussels. From there, the safe arrival of the works was acknowledged by the German authorities and the Commission Royale. One copy was placed amongst the documents at Brussels, the second copy was sent to the civil President at Bruges, whilst one section of the first copy, confirming the arrival and giving the whereabouts of the cases in Brussels, was returned to the owner. By means of this system the extensive work was carried out without the least difficulty, despite the many departments engaged in the work. The carrying-out of the work was begun in Kortrijk. A great number of works of art from the evacuated and endangered districts on the front were collected from the Belgian side through a newly-formed society "Gewestelijk Genootschap tot het Bewaren van Archieven en Kunstwerken", represented by M. M. Baron J. de Béthune and J. Mussely, barrister, together with the assistance of the commanding authorities of Kortrijk. The cellars in which were accommodated all these works out of Belleghem, Bissegem, Dadziele, Gheluwe, Gullegem, Heule, Ledeghem, Menin, Moorsele, Roeselaere and the section of St. Eloi, nevertheless still remained much threatened places. In spite of an overburdening of the railways, the military railway authorities considerably granted trucks for the purpose of removing these works to Brussels. At the same time preparations were made for the transport to Brussels of the paintings out of the church of St. Martin and the Liebfrauenkirche, as well as from the museum in Kortrijk. The painting, "The Erection of the Cross" by Van Dyck in the Liebfrauenkirche, which had been walled-in at the beginning of the war, was liberated from its enclosure; this had become highly necessary as the picture was covered with a thick mould and would have undoubtedly suffered had it remained longer in its hiding-place. Under the supervision of an expert who had been called from Brussels, the picture was removed to the capital, where it arrived uninjured and was placed in the

old museum. Later on, the church treasures from Kortrijk, works of art from Ledeghem, Thourout, Kortemark, the castle of Demare, Bovekerke, Hanzame and the castle of Wijnendaele were removed in further trucks to Brussels. At Harlebeeke, near Ghent, a truck-load of works of art and the church archives, which dated as far back as the 12th century, was forwarded to Brussels. In the same way works of art were removed under very difficult conditions from Wewelghem to Brussels. Through the kindness of the military departments, military escorts accompanied all these transports, and the trucks were coupled to passenger trains in order that the works should not be exposed to danger from air-attacks during the long journeys. Through the self-sacrificing and often dangerous activity of Freiherr Schenck zu Schweinsberg, together with the intelligent co-operation of the Belgian and the German departments, 15 truck-loads of works of art were removed into safety from the province of western Flanders to Brussels.

The precautionary measures assumed a new stage in the autumn of 1918, through the withdrawal of our front. Wide stretches of country, which up till then had been spared from war, became partly a direct section of the front and partly came into the threatened zone. On account of the abundance of work involved, it was only possible at first to rescue or protect the most important works of art. Above everything we wished to protect Tournay. A sum of 25 000 francs for the protection of art-works in Hainault was granted by the chief administrator for Walloon, which was to be applied in the same manner as had already been done in Flanders, with the co-operative work of the German experts of the Brussels Commission and their provincial committee in Tournay. As the result of events it was no longer possible to carry out any comprehensive measures in Tournay. The administrators of the 6th army, who lent their art-expert, Leutnant Dr. Feulner, for this purpose, showed a deep understanding for the protection of works of art. Three salvage-depots were established in the town by the chairman of the provincial committee, M. Soil de Moriamé, to which art-monuments from public and private collections were removed. In addition, the treasures of the museum were placed in the cellar of the building and the municipal archives were concentrated in the Bishop's seminary. Sentries were placed in front of those houses containing private collections which it was not possible to rescue, and also before the depots themselves; in addition to this, placards were placed on certain buildings, to which entrance was forbidden to all persons under the penalty of severest punishment. The attempt to remove the church treasury, the most valuable manuscripts and the large tapestries of the cathedral into safety to Brussels, was frustrated by the resistance of the cathedral chapter, who would only hear of the transport of the things to Brussels in the case of a complete evacuation of the town. The army commanders provided means of transport and permits for the Belgian escorts. Eventually it was achieved that the church treasure could be carefully packed by art-experts and placed in the cellar of the Bishop's Palace. When the work of taking-down the tapestries of the cathedral began, it was discovered that the wall upon which these were stretched was absolutely damp. The tapestries were already beginning to decay at the bottom and the sides. The quickest conservation was necessary.

The measures for the protection of art were extended to East Flanders, after the evacuation of the province of West Flanders. Here again the work was conducted by Freiherr Schenck zu Schweinsberg. In spite of the threatening danger, the local Belgian authorities themselves had done nothing for the protection of the art monuments. As late as October 19, 1918, no precautionary measures had been adopted in Ghent. The altar by Van Eyck, out of St. Bavo, had been brought into safety as early as August, 1914, by the chapter of St. Bavo, and professedly been sent to England, but in reality it had been shrewdly concealed in the town itself. The German art-experts then made suggestions to the cathedral chapter and to the authorities of the Ghent museum for the protection of art monuments and through their influence, teams, workmen, and material were rendered available by the military authorities. The museum paintings were placed in the vault of St. Bavo and the precious tombs in the Ghent churches were protected against shell-splinters by sand-bag packings. Similar precautionary measures were adopted also in Audenarde, Termonde, Geraardsbergen and Aalst. Also the beautiful carved altar in Hemelverdegem was packed. The precautionary measures which had been prepared in Antwerp did not come into full execution, as the war was brought to a close by the armistice before the "Antwerp—Meuse" line, which would have been a direct danger to Antwerp, was reached.



Tournay, Cathedral. Tapestry by Pierrot Feré, 1402, saved by the Germans

Only a short account is here given of the efforts of the German administration for rescuing the library and archives. In the spring of 1915, the director of the University library at Breslau, Professor Milkau, by order of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, had inspected the Belgian public and ministerial libraries in Brussels (which were in a state of considerable disorder) as well as the University, municipal, and monastery libraries and part of the private collections, and had interested himself in the matter of their immediate superintendence. Unfortunately, in Brussels especially, many things were neglected during the first months of the occupation, in former Belgian ministerial departments, which at the instigation of the municipal authorities themselves had been overcrowded, as the result of having to employ the rooms for other purposes. After the departure of Professor Milkau, Dr. Oehler, who had been appointed to the chief administrative department, was entrusted with the supervision of the libraries in Belgium. Under his direction the German administration tried to remedy this damage and to restore the library for use through conscientious individual effort and a comprehensive organization¹). In addition to 25 literary collections in Brussels, including the 6 ministerial libraries, the organizations which from there had been formed in the provinces, in Liège, Namur, Tournay, and Antwerp, were all controlled by this administrative board. As far as was possible the Brussels collections have been restored to their former condition. The contents of the library, which were in a state of confusion, were sorted and fully catalogued²), and within a short time the library administration was not only

¹) Cf. in detail: Milkau, Das Kriegschicksal der belgischen Bibliotheken: Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen XXXIII, p. 1. 1916,

²) Cf. in detail: R. Oehler, Drei Jahre bibliothekarische Kriegsarbeit in Belgien: Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen XXXV, p. 155, 1918.

able to satisfy the demands of the German military and civil authorities, but also of the Belgian authorities and the scientific workers. In the Academy building, which had been used as a hospital, it was only possible to restore order amongst the books, which had been heaped together in the loft of the library, very late, unfortunately almost too late. The battles which took place in 1914 in the vicinity of Brussels had caused a hurried equipment of the building as a hospital, so that, out of consideration for the wounded, no comprehensive precautionary measures could be adopted for the scientific contents of the building.

The state archivist Richter, who was a captain at the front, reported by order of the General Government upon the numerous and voluminous Belgian archives. In consequence of his suggestions the German administration immediately adopted safety measures. The state archives in Brussels and in the chief provincial towns were, on the whole, in good condition, only in Liège had the offices been cleared for military purposes. Similar clearance was caused for the troops in the state archives at Arlon. The archives in Namur and Antwerp, which were scarcely protected against external danger, have only by chance been preserved from shells. In Antwerp the contents of the archives, together with the most valuable documents and records from Malines, were placed in safety in the cellars. The remainder of the archives of Malines were accommodated in the cellar of the local archives. Severe losses of whole archives are recorded in Dinant and Termonde. Minor losses have occurred at different places. Archivist Captain Dirr, the municipal director of the archives at Augsburg, and later, Colonel Schwerdtfeger, were chiefly entrusted by the German administration with the revision of the archives. A large number of German historians have worked here, amongst them the Professors of History Spannagel (Münster) and Cartellieri (Heidelberg).

Together with the task of restoring public activity and welfare, which in accordance with the terms of the Hague Convention fell to the lot of the occupying power, the matter of town-buildings came within the administration of the German authorities, as well as the care of the devastated residential quarters and technical buildings, in fact, the whole control and organization of buildings. Supported by the personal interest of the General-General, Freiherr von Bissing, the Imperial civil administration accepted this task with the best zeal. Landesbaurat a. D. Rehorst, adviser to the town of Cologne, had been appointed superintendent for municipal buildings by the Government-General since 1915. According to the German statistics, 21,184 buildings were destroyed or damaged in Belgium within the war territory in the province of Western Flanders, barely 2% of the buildings in Belgium before the war. Even if certain towns, more especially Louvain, Dinant, Lier, Termonde, and Visé, have suffered severely, still the extent of the destruction is not nearly as great as one feared after the first reports and charges. The endeavour of the German administration was to re-awaken the building enterprise of the municipalities and the population. Belgium possessed a highly developed system of building, a perfectly-working organization of building authorities, and a widely-spread body of architects, to a certain degree of very high artistic capacity and strong *corps d'esprit*. The old Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites, founded simultaneously with the Belgian empire, represented also for the complete building system a sort of high court of justice in purely artistic questions, concerning town architecture. Naturally the Belgians have their own conceptions not only of life and comfort, which together with their needs determined their form of architecture, but also with regard to the principles governing the laying out of towns. However, the development appears to have stood still in some respects, and when the venerable commission in their first official statement upon the „Réconstruction des villes et villages détruits par la guerre“ in 1914, knew no better than to establish the „Esthétique des villes“ of Charles Buls (so highly respected also in Germany), as a sort of canonic law, one is reminded of Ibsen's words, that “a normally constructed truth can only live for twelve, fifteen, or at the most, twenty years”; this form of æsthetics has long been superseded.

The extension of the destruction in the war territory and the suspension of building activity for so many years made it seem certain that an abundance of new tasks would accumulate after the war. In many places simultaneously, rebuilding would have to be taken up with all available forces and means in order to replace the destroyed dwelling-places, so that it was to be feared that the painful

vastness of the task would not admit of that thorough revision of all designs and schemes for entire villages and streets, as well as of those for single houses, which a due regard for their future appearance would demand. In every respect it was the hour of fate for whole districts of Belgium. Extensive tasks of the greatest importance concerning town architecture here came into question. What had been neglected during the war in the way of establishing principles and guiding lines, in the restricting and preventing of coarseness and distortion, could scarcely ever be repaired. The German authorities could only prepare for later architectural development and pave the way for a reconstruction of a considerable part of Belgian country. Above all, however, they could prevent any adherence to inferior plans, arising out of rash decisions, and a healthy and carefully-considered system of architecture from being frustrated through hurriedly constructed buildings¹).

The German administration constantly pointed to these modern principles of town-building and attempted to establish a system of home protection and preservation of the character of places and landscapes in their plans for new buildings; they laid stress upon the employment of the talent of Belgian architects in the rebuilding.

They were willing to support communities and private persons to a considerable extent in their rebuilding by the granting of building loans, through direct advances, by encouraging handicraft and finally they offered their own artistic and technical forces on a wide scale without, the Belgian contractors thereby suffering any unpleasantness. At the Brussels War-conference for the Preservation of Monuments Karl Rehorst, reported in a broadly-planned lecture upon the tasks of municipal building. A commission, comprising delegates from the two largest German societies of architects from all parts of Germany, were here to assist with their advice in the matter of town-building.

The success fell short of the aim and the wish. The Belgians in most cases have not accepted the assistance which was offered them. Almost everywhere they have opposed well-meant suggestions and advice with silent resistance, they also persistently and abruptly rejected the material assistance we offered them. The German administration had the opportunity of interesting itself in the rebuilding of Louvain, Termonde, Malines, Aerschot, Dinant, and other places, and were also able to confer with the local authorities. Very often, fundamental differences of opinion resulted. The very able town-architect, M. Vingeroedt, drew up a whole row of plans for the new formation of the quarter around the Town-Hall in Louvain. The plan, however, which was finally drawn up by the architect Francotte for this whole neighbourhood, was so radical and took the modern conception of town-building so little into account, that any agreement was here impossible. Out of hygienic considerations and for reasons of public safety, in September 1916, the Governor-General ordered the ruins which had been damaged through the war and whose collapse was becoming increasingly imminent, to be pulled down, in those cases where the owners stated their unwillingness to undertake the rebuilding — but remains which had a pronounced architectural or archæological value were always exempted. Subsequent to this, a number of new buildings arose, especially in the neighbourhood of historical monuments; in these cases the German administration were able to assist with their advice, and it is to be hoped that the seed which the German building administration have sown in this activity will take root after the war. Perhaps one may also say that the German conception of the terms „home protection“ (Heimatschutz) and „protection of the landscape“ have gained ground in Belgium only during the last years. The villas in the Meuse valley and more especially the hotels on the sea-coast, which have sprung up during the last two decades, seem to be like a mockery of that architecture which aims at preserving the character, outline and substance of a landscape in its monuments, but just during the war, signs of a change have shown themselves. Even during the war, the publication of the *Anciennes constructions rurales en Belgique* was begun by the three gifted architects Clément,

¹) Compare J. Stübgen, *Der Wiederaufbau von Belgien: Deutsche Bauzeitung* 1916, Nr. 48; 1918, Nr. 11. — A. Hofmann, *Die Erhaltung von Löwen: Deutsche Bauzeitung* 1914, Nr. 78, 79. The work of the German administration in the realm of municipal buildings, the preservation of monuments and rebuilding has been sketched paradigmatically in two publications: *Namur vor und im Weltkrieg*, herausgegeben von der kaiserlichen Fortifikation Namur, München, Verlag Piper 1918, und *Dinant, Denkschrift im Auftrag des Generalgouverneurs*, München, Roldandverlag, 1918.

Ghobert, and Huart, which at the same time should serve as a basis for the coming restoration. These pictures of rustic dwellings, together with what enthusiastic architects and lovers of art had previously published (more especially from Ghent, Bruges and Tournay), give such a solid and healthy foundation for the evolution of native architecture, that one would like to constantly refer to them in contrast to the errors of the last decades. They are above all eminently adaptable and can almost everywhere be adjusted to modern needs and wide proportions.

The older generation of Belgian architects, just as the greater number of French and German architects, had grown up with a one-sided appreciation of the Middle-Ages and, at the latest, of the 16th century, but lacked an understanding for the modest dwelling-architecture of the 18th century; for the work of the beginning of the 19th century they often felt but contempt. Even in 1915, a competition for designs for building upon the Grande-Place at Tournay showed how the majority of the competitors had the intention, so dangerous and destructive to the character of a place, of equalising all the street effects in the manner of late-medieval forms. Only recently was it realised that in the house-architecture of the period of the 18th century and also the first decades of the 19th century in the newly-created kingdom of Belgium, which had been formed out of quite incongruous districts, there existed a sound tradition, the old national tradition, which had preserved its vitality up to the present and that a further development of it was still possible. The ancient art-cities of Belgium, even those which were quite asleep, as well as the large and small German towns, were threatened by the snobbish architecture of the last decades, which has given rise to an abundance of truly horrid monstrosities and impossibilities, especially in the sea-towns and bathing-resorts.

The publication on Flemish house-architecture, undertaken by the German architect, Erdmann Hartig, was intended as a collection of materials for the drawing-up of new special designs and whole façades, just like the publications of Armand Heins and Soil de Moriamé on Ghent and Tournay and the illustrations of the façades of Bruges and Courtray. These plans could only partly be published¹⁾. A comprehensive publication of the artistically most important façades in Ghent and Antwerp was prepared by the German architect, Karl Wach. These exemplary sketches were collected to a great extent simultaneously with the German inventorisation of Belgian monuments of art. Since the division of government in Belgium, Herr Rehorst was adviser for the Building Department in Flanders, whilst the architect Karl Pfaffenberg, from Cologne, was entrusted with the same task in the district of Walloon. Both artists, coming from the neighbouring Rhenish country, knew and admired even in peace-time the wealth of Belgian minor architecture, and have especially interested themselves in the recording of standard types of houses as well as of rural dwellings of large and small farms. In Namur, a permanent exhibition of standard sketches was founded in, connection with the building department of the German Civil Government. A specific survey on an ambitious scale of the house architecture and characteristic and typical façades was prepared for Flanders, but this was suddenly interrupted through the end of the war. All this work enjoyed the special interest of the two art-loving German chiefs of the administration in Flanders, the South-German Herr Scheible, and in Walloon, the Rhinelander Herr Haniel. During the war a large number of publications by German scholars and architects aimed at interesting German specialists and the German public in the art-treasures of Belgium; amongst them were Richard Graul, Hugo Kehrler, and Eugen Lüthgen; German artists, such as Roland Anheißer, Luigi Kasimir, and Ernst Oppler, have attempted to preserve the impressions of Belgian architecture. As early as 1915, by order of the Governor-General, Generaloberst Freiherr von Bissing, three of the most important and extensive Gothic monuments in Belgium were sketched, namely, the three Cistercian Abbeys at Orval, Villers, and Aulne, which had lain in ruins since the

¹⁾ Erdmann Hartig, *Flandrische Wohnhausarchitektur mit Vorwort von Paul Clemen*, Berlin, Wasmuth, 1916. The best classification of dwellings in Tournay is to be found in „L'habitation Tournaisienne du XIe au XVIIIe siècle“, by E. J. Soil de Moriamé, Tournay, 1904. — For Ghent the „Oude gevels van Ghent“ edited by the Maatschappij der bouwkundigen van de provincie Oost-Vlaanderen and the publications of Armand Heins, „Ancienne Flandre und Vieux coins de Flandre“. During the war, publications under the patronage of the Commission spéciale des constructions rurales du comité national de secours et d'alimentation, in the volume of the Maisons rurales du type traditionnel flamand. Up till now three volumes have appeared by P. Clément, J. Ghobert and C. Huart, *Les anciennes constructions rurales et les petites constructions des béguinages en Belgique*.

time of the French Revolution. The records were made by the Dresden architects, Fucker, Zschaler, and Kroner, the publication prepared by Paul Clemen and Cornelius Gurlitt. Also this publication should serve as a testimony to the earnestness and expertness with which the German administration, conscious of their great responsibility, had turned to tasks of peaceful culture even in the midst of battles¹⁾.

They had the wish to create a solid foundation for a further architectural movement and for the necessary question of building, still more they felt the need of making the wealth of the extant Belgian monuments widely accessible for research purposes, and of preserving these important sources for international history of art, more especially for the research work of the adjoining Germany. This fostered the idea of a collection of sketches of the Belgian monuments of art, which was put into execution in the summer of 1917, by German art critics and architects who were active in Belgium either in a military or official capacity. The term "inventorisation" which was first chosen as a convenient abbreviation and subsequently used officially, does not really quite cover the original intention nor the manner of its execution²⁾. We have not here to deal with statistics of monuments according to a German standard, nor even with a handbook for Belgian works of art in the form of that which Georg Dehio compiled of German monuments, but for the present, only with a systematic collection of records and the creation of archives for monuments. Belgium does not yet possess real statistics of its monuments. Two illustrated catalogues of works in the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp and part of the province of East Flanders have been published, but are not purchaseable; with regard to the two first-named provinces, they refer to the contents of the public buildings only in catalogue form and do not describe or reproduce the buildings themselves, whilst the text is restricted to the merest essentials. The secular buildings, more especially the extremely important castles, large private properties, and also the collections have been completely omitted³⁾. During the last decades the „Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites" had worked upon a plan for combining real and comprehensive statistics of monuments; especially the present President, who has an excellent knowledge of the country, has interested himself in its homogeneous realisation. All these efforts have, however, been frustrated, and the provincial commissions follow more or less their own ideas. The Commission itself does not possess systematic archives for monuments, but only a collection of plans which have accumulated in the course of the construction of different architectural works. The photographic department of the Musée du Cinquantienaire however, possesses a rich fund of records, which might well form the nucleus of historical archives. Through its collection of records and bibliographical sources, German enterprise had to make up what was here missing. These records equally included works of ecclesiastical and secular architecture, painting, decorative and industrial art. It was also the intention to include the treasures of the libraries and, according to the need, also those of public and private collections. The work was at first begun through the initiative and assistance of the South-German art patron, Louis Laiblin, who had already earned a reputation in the modern art-world as the donor of the Pfullingen Halls. Later, the Kaiser lent his animated personal support to this enterprise, as the result of a report presented to him and warmly advocated by the Prussian

¹⁾ Paul Clemen und Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die Klosterbauten der Zisterzienser in Belgien*, im Auftrage des Kaiserlich Deutschen General-Gouvernements in Belgien herausgegeben. Berlin, Zirkelverlag 1916.

²⁾ A detailed account of the organization of this work in the *Kunstchronik*, 1918, Nr. 42, p. 485. At the head stood a committee consisting of Geh. Reg.-Rat Clemen as leader of the whole enterprise, Landrat Freiherr von Wilmowski and Geh. Reg.-Rat Bodenstein. Dr. Hensler officiated as secretary; in each province the work was arranged by a branch head: Dr. Hensler, Prof. Kehrer, Prof. Rauch, Baurat Flesche, Freiherr Schenck zu Schweinsberg, Prof. M. Schmidt, Arch. Paffendorf, Arch. Freiherr v. Schmidt, Prof. Laur, Dr. Baum, Dr. Koehler. Apart from these co-workers who were active in military or civil posts in Belgium, the Prussian Messbildanstalt, Prof. Hamanns, Dr. Stoedtner, Mrs. Deetjen Lit. D. and a number of eminent German architects have greatly participated in the work.

³⁾ The following works are available: Province de Brabant. *Inventaire des objets d'art existant dans les édifices publics des communes*, 3 vols., Arrondissement de Bruxelles, Louvain, Nivelles. Brussels 1904—1912. — Province Antwerpen. *Provinciaal comité van monumenten. Inventaris der Kunstvoorwerpen in de openbare gestichten bewaard*, 7 fascicles, 1906—1914. — Provincial Comité van monumenten. *Oudheid-Kundige inventaris van Oost-Vlaanderen*, Ghent 1911, 11 fascicles. — *Inventaire archéologique de Gand*, catalogue descriptif et illustré des monuments, publié par la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand, Ghent 1901—1910.

Kultusminister and Finanzminister, and assigned a considerable sum out of the public treasury for this purpose. The whole work was under the control of the Imperial General Government in Belgium, and was there regarded as a separate branch of the local administration; since the autumn of 1917, it has been subsidised from the funds of the General Government. The complete records were later to be placed at the disposal of all interested persons with the fullest liberality and without restriction. Here also, however, the political events of the autumn of 1918 brought an abrupt conclusion to the work, but nevertheless, it may be regarded as completed in its essential features. Naturally, the records are not equally representative of the whole country. In those cases where standard and adequate records, publications or photographs existed, we could limit our work.

It seemed superfluous to take new photographs of the paintings in the large museums, it appeared much more important to search the small ones. Highly important material has been compiled, with special attention to quite specific research wishes and tendencies, which contains the old and new illustrations in a "Catalogue raisonné"; this material, which has already been partly used and treated, will be presented to the professional art-world in a collected volume of essays on Belgian history of art. Thus also in this respect German administration and German science have tried, within the limits prescribed by circumstances, to serve unselfishly the interests of the preservation and history of monuments of art.



Destruction caused by English air-bombs at Bruges

IV.

The Works of Architecture in the French War-Zone

By Paul Clemen

A report upon the condition of the architecture in the French theatre of war must begin with a manifestation of pain at the destruction of irreplaceable works of culture. Overcome with emotion, we stand before the devastation, which can only be realised in its full extent, now that the war itself has left this territory. What has become of the beautiful and once so prosperous land through which we used to wander before the war, and in which we used to explore, full of devoted love and reverent admiration for its great art? Was it not like a prophecy out of the darkness when, before the war, Auguste Rodin cried out in his phantasy on the cathedrals of France: "I am as prepared for the death of these monuments as I am for my own death." We share the pain for the loss of a possession which belonged not only to the French, but to the cultured community of the whole world. In this home of French Gothic art, the mission of the medieval spirit was expressed in a visible symbol — from here issued forth a new artistic gospel. And of the stone records of this period of human history, how much the war has extinguished, broken or seriously damaged. The longer this war dragged on — this war which could not die and yet which should have died so long before — the more did the losses automatically increase. At each new movement, almost with each fresh war-report, we had to witness how the zone of devastation constantly advanced, grew, and gained in extent and depth, and how the iron foot of war trod to earth, together with irreparable human lives, ever anew irreplaceable works of human hands. And to the misfortune of France, the war-zone passed right through the middle of her best soil, the most thickly-populated sections of her country, through territory in which old towns and bishoprics stood crowded together, from Western Flanders through the old Picardy and the Champagne, down to Lorraine. Here the line cut out the most fruitful parts of the Départements Nord, Pas de Calais, Somme, Oise, Aisne, Marne, Meuse. Where it had moved backwards and forwards for a long time over the blood-saturated fields of the great decisive battles, only swampy fields of craters have remained, where the soil, torn up by millions of shells, has been levelled and completely transformed, where splintered tree-trunks recall towering forests, where the old demarcations seem to be lost and roads are no longer roads, where former brooks flow into half-ruined trenches, where each work and building of human hands has been shot into irrecongnisable ruins and dust — a dead land, whose spirit is slain.

The German army-reports and war-news during all these years have also referred to the losses of architectural works in this territory. The first comprehensive survey from our side was given in August 1915, at Brussels, at the War-conference for the Preservation of Monuments and was afterwards made known to the public. In their work of enlightenment, the war-correspondents, especially Georg Wegener, Max Osborn and Wilhelm Scheuermann, have constantly given us the judgments of able experts upon the most important monuments. In a number of reports, the author of this chapter, who since December 1914 had been entrusted by the supreme military authorities with ascertaining the condition of monuments in the war and etape zones, has treated of this theme repeatedly during all these years. Joseph Sauer has given a formal summary of the total losses, based upon comprehensive material; he has also examined reports dealing with the nature of the damage to monuments and has given an estimate of their value. From the French side an increasing quantity of literature lies before us, whose colouring has been determined altogether too much by an immeasurable hatred, which often forgets the limits formerly defined by literary tone, good taste and self-respect. We have tried to feel a human sympathy for these outbreaks of intense pain as well as for the cries of wild indignation which have moved us. We tried to understand even when, in frantic hate, they turned against us when they should have turned against Fate, which here was called War and War-destiny. Is it really a consolation for the loss of dearly and reverently beloved dead to discuss the question of guilt? Does not this point of view show an altogether too primitive comprehension for universal historical crises? Does it not also too strongly emphasise the importance of small, single individuals in these great events, which can only be considered from the standpoint of a collective

historical conception, together with a certain fatalism? The individual can only represent the impetus, but can never be identified with the original cause; he may start the stone rolling, but could never have placed it on the top of the mountain. When one views this theme of war from the universal historical conception of Kjellen, then the question as to the last of the line, who is so often but an instrument, seems an idle one, and not only because the gaze is thereby diverted from all those who have caused the crisis, kindled the fire and laid the mines which have then exploded. No, when the lightning strikes from cloud to cloud, does one ask from which one the electric spark has emanated, from which of the equally charged poles? In the introduction to his extensive chief work, Max Scheler has spoken during these weeks of the common guilt of Europe, of the common guilt of the whole world — shall we not try to recall these words?

Not in order to refute the foolish charge of madly-blind barbarism, but rather to show the awful necessity which war brings with it, and whose inexorable logic the Entente powers constantly try to evade, has it also been necessary for us to state what the Russians in the east, the French and the English in the west and together with them the Belgians, have destroyed, have had to destroy in and behind the firing-line. We shall only point out here what has already been said in the general chapter about the self-evident share our enemies had in the destruction on French soil. Not in order to provoke new discussions, but for the sake of compensating justice; not in order to clear ourselves or deny acts which our armies have committed, but rather to point out the mutual share in these acts and to divide the responsibility amongst the belligerents, must we record in this painful list of losses that proportion of damage which stands to the account of the enemy artillery. It is equally evident that we could better calculate the destruction caused by the enemy, because the losses lay within our lines and were saturated with German blood, just as the Allies, as long as the front was stationary, were in a position to calculate earlier and better than we, the destruction, as far as it was caused by our artillery, on the other side of the old iron wall.

We have a number of French reports from the beginning of the war, which chiefly refer to the territory affected by the military operations during the first advances of the troops, the battles of the Marne and the later local battles. During the war and in conjunction with the older Commission des monuments historiques a special organisation was formed with the support of the French military authorities, for the purpose of estimating the damage to the historical monuments and of protecting works of art. The work of protecting and rescuing threatened works of art, which began late, but then very energetically, comprehensively and carefully prepared, has been supplemented by single investigations as to the condition of the damaged monuments. These French reports must be combined with ours, in order to complete the picture¹⁾, just as one only gains an accurate representation of the battles by combining the mutual accounts.

The long expected official work of Arsène Alexandre appeared even before the final liquidation of the world-war²⁾. We are grateful for the positive material it contains, and where we are in error will readily correct our opinion. If we believed, however, that we should here find a tone of objective discussion, and calm, conscientious balance, which alone can finally produce clearness, then we must be deeply disappointed. The author altogether refuses to enter into any discussion as to the mutual share of the belligerents in the damage caused during the war. He declares boldly: All war acts have been a consequence of the mere fact of war itself, and for the instigation of the war Germany is alone responsible. — That is once and for all the convenient legend invented by the Entente and maintained

¹⁾ P. Clemen, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, Leipzig 1916. The same in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1916, p. 49, and (without illustrations) in the shorthand reports of the War-session for the Protection of Monuments. Brussels 1915, p. 11 and his Provisional report upon the condition of art-monuments in Belgium and France, in the *Kunstchronik*, N. F. XXVI, 1914/15, Nr. 9, 10, 17. — Joseph Sauer, *Kunst und heilige Stätten im Kriege*, from *Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus und Weltkrieg*, by G. Pfeilschifter. Freiburg 1915, Herder. — The same (enlarged and with numerous illustrations): *Die Zerstörung von Kirchen und Kunstdenkmälern an der Westfront*, Freiburg 1917. The same in French: *La destruction d'églises et de monuments d'art sur le front ouest*. Freiburg 1917.

²⁾ Arsène Alexandre, *Les monuments français détruits par l'Allemagne*. Enquête entreprise par ordre de M. Dalimier, sous-secrétaire d'Etat des beaux arts. With 242 photographs on 47 plates. Paris 1918, Berger-Levrault.

with the equally convenient eloquence of the victor, which considerably overlooks all war-preparations, intrigues, policies of isolation, and secret treaties on the other side. Quia unus quisque tantum iuris habet, quantum potentia valet. A discussion of this book is impossible because it is not based upon the good will of rendering justice to the opponent.

In order to prove the falseness of the charges raised against us, the cruel irony of universal history, in its tragic justice, has destined that the English and the French, the first as unwelcome guests on the Continent, the latter in their own land, have been compelled during the progress of the fighting within the last two years, through the same military necessity as ourselves, to destroy and imperil the most venerable architecture and precious art-treasures within the French lines. The extent of the destruction on the other side of the stationary iron front during the three years is not known to us. We are here dependent upon the reports of the French Government and French art scholars. Full of sorrow do we follow our leaders through the territory of the Marne battles and through the southern departments. We hear that the beautiful early-Gothic church of Sermaize and the stately Romanesque building of Sommesous have been burnt out, that the late-Gothic building of Pargny-sur-Saulx has been destroyed, together with a whole row of other small, similar churches. In a list of losses compiled by Enlart, is included the imposing church of Huiron, a magnificent memorial of the style flamboyant, the reporter informs us that the Germans had converted it into a fort: "thereby compelling the French artillery to wreck it beyond further use¹⁾." This fact no doubt will be correct. But the reasons here admitted for the French side are equally applicable for the German side and German artillery, which found itself in a similarly compulsory position with regard to other buildings. With regard to another monument from the same list, the beautiful Romanesque church of Tracy-le-Val, the French papers published, full of pride, illustrations showing how the French position passed immediately in front of the church wall, which was thus included in the line of defence.

The township of St. Mihiel, which was held so long by the Bavarians as an advance-post, south of Verdun, was struck exclusively by enemy shells, although the population was still within its walls. The late-Gothic church of St. Etienne and the imposing Baroque Abbey-church were both damaged in this way, whilst shells also fell in the Library. Here, just as with the St. Etienne church, it was the German authorities who protected the most precious works of art, more especially the huge marble group of the Burial of Christ, by Ligier Richier, as early as December 1914, against the French shells and so preserved them for French art-history. The monument was protected from within by a wooden shelter, which in turn was surrounded by a thick packing of sand-bags; a similar packing also protected the outer roof of the chapel against the splintering effect of enemy shells.

In the Woevre plains, where all places within a broad zone have been destroyed, stands first the small town of Etain, whose imposing Gothic church, a building of the 13th century, with a late-Gothic choir and a classicistic tower, for a long time was the target of an incessant French bombardment. The roof is completely burnt, heavy shells have penetrated the vault of the choir and the nave, the interior of the church is burnt out. After the first battles in the autumn of 1914, the whole dome of the church was still intact, the French shells, however, have caused it to completely collapse during the last two years, hereby condemning the ruin to complete decay. The most precious art-work of the church, the large Pietà by Ligier Richier from the year 1528, was removed as early as December 1914 with great trouble and extreme care, and thanks to the devoted labours of the Director of the Metz museum, Professor Keune, who by order of the military authorities had superintended the removal of the imperilled portable works of art from St. Mihiel, as well as the large stone Renaissance altar in Hâton-Chatel, which could only be rescued after great effort. Only one who has been engaged in the transport of such a heavy stone monument can comprehend the difficulties which this work offered us in the centre of a zone of bitter fighting.

¹⁾ Camille Enlart, *Le vandalisme allemand dans le nord de la France*. Special number of *L'art et les artistes* 1915; *Les vandales en France*, p. 46; illustr. Tracy-le-Val, before its destruction, p. 43, Huiron p. 51; Sermaize pp. 61 and 62; Sommesous p. 65. Enumeration of the buildings (according to Départements) in A. Alexandre (*Tracy-le-Val* p. 183). Illustrations also in the two volumes: *La guerre allemande et le catholicisme*. Edited by Abbé Baudrillart, Bloud et Gay, 1915/16.

The villages at the foot of the Côte lorraine together with their churches have long been ruined. In the highly-situated Montfaucon, which overlooks the whole of the surrounding country, the imposing, richly-membered Gothic church, with its choir-gallery and developed buttress-system, crowned the picturesque township. The French projected thousands of shells against this widely visible building, which first demolished the tower, then the whole of the nave, so that finally only the ruined choir remained, towering up against the sky like a fantastic silhouette. East of the Argonne front on the bank of the Aire, all villages and all churches have been wrecked, the charming township Varennes is completely demolished. Of the curious three-aisled early-Gothic church, a part of the outer walls and the western front with the beautiful late-Baroque portal still remain. What remained standing of the walls of large buildings, to the east and north of Verdun, which conjured up in our memory the former churches and mansions, has been completely destroyed during the last battles; French shared with Americans in this allotted military task. Even the forest is ruined; a horrible field of craters has taken the place of an idyllic landscape.



Hattonchatel. The Renaissance Altar taken for safety to Metz

All the places on the old Champagne front between Servon and Reims which were immediately behind the 1916 and 1917 line, were placed under deliberate fire and entirely destroyed by the French. They destroyed first of all the churches, which they surmised were used by us as mustering-places and observation-posts. Servon, Cernay-en-Dormois, the large Romanesque church in Somme-Py with its elaborate tracery and its portal, decorated with elegant late-Gothic sculpture, lie in ruins. The extinction of the whole group of charming late-Romanesque and early-Gothic churches, north and north-east of Reims, is a heavy loss for the French history of art. The most painful loss is that of the church in Cernay-les-Reims, a magnificent three-aisled building (from the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries), with a wealth of detail and a rich variety of capitals. It was a victim to French shells, the same as were the graceful early-Gothic church in Bourgogne, with its charming choir of the 12/13th centuries, and the beautiful two-aisled church of Brimont.

South of Laon, another group of churches which have a still greater value for the history of art, has been destroyed. The church in Urcel with its remarkable porch, decorated with richest plastic ornaments, has been completely ruined; Nouvion-le-Vineaux is seriously damaged, and Bruyères has suffered heavily; a whole row of small Romanesque buildings, amongst them the churches of Le

Haut near Laval, of Ployart, have been destroyed. However, it was possible to spare the noble church of St. Ived in Braisne, which was passed by our troops during their second advance south, but came into the middle of the line during our later withdrawal; the German, the same as the French artillery, strove to save this choice work of art from the fate of the small neighbouring churches¹⁾.

An irreparable loss to the French history of art of the period of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, is the total destruction of the rich late-Gothic ecclesiastical buildings in Roye, Péronne, Bapaume, Montdidier, which have all fallen victims to enemy shells. A complete, important chapter of the French history of architecture has thereby been deprived of its most important records. These buildings formed an unbroken group, which extended north as far as Abbéville. The church of St. Pierre in Roye, built at the end of the 15th century (the chancel bears the date 1488, the nave that of 1494) on to the older Romanesque façade (chiefly dating, however, from its restoration in 1866) and forming a perfectly harmonized group of architecture, in which the richest forms of late-Gothic were mixed with charming subjects and ornaments of the French early Renaissance, was shot to pieces by the French, after we had pulled down the central spire. The same thing happened to the windows in the side-aisles and in the choir, wonderful and brilliant early-Renaissance windows which originated from about 1510, — animated, many-figured groups, of iconographic importance²⁾. During the last battles around Roye, the base of the central tower totally collapsed, the choir and the upper part of the western front gave way, the church is now irretrievably ruined; in addition to the church, the town-hall has completely collapsed. Also Péronne exists no longer. The whole town, which extended along the bank of the Somme, with its wealth of picturesque beauties, its streets descending to the plain, its cathedral, castle, and old town-gates — is a thing of the past. The St. Jean church, an imposing late-Gothic hall-church four arches in length, with a fairly harmonious façade, which was interrupted by a rich portal in the style flamboyant, had become a victim to the enemy bombardment as early as 1916 and the winter of 1917. The tower rising on the north side and dominating the market-place which was a target for the English artillery for months, lies prostrate on the ground; in the town-hall, the beautiful Renaissance wing, resting on arcades, is wrecked. Also in Bapaume, the large late-Gothic church, a remarkable three-aisled hall-structure, with deep side-chapels and a two-aisled transept, is quite destroyed, the greater part of the outer walls has given way, whilst the interior is filled with a huge heap of ruins. The noble monumental work has been literally showered with enemy shells; it now presents one of the most awful pictures of wild desolation. The beautiful late-Renaissance building, the town-hall from the year 1610, is likewise quite wrecked.

On the furthest west front it was Montdidier upon which the enemy concentrated his fire from the beginning of the last early spring offensive till the last heavy battles in the first half of August. Here again two of the most beautiful late-Gothic churches, those of St. Pierre and St. Sépulcre, have fallen victims to the war. The imposing church of St. Pierre, which was begun as early as 1475, received only in 1538 from Chapron (the maître-maçon of the cathedral of Beauvais), its elaborate portal, which has two octagonal side-turrets and is heightened by a graceful gallery; its fine small groups, its canopies and the foliage in the casements remind one of the sculpture in Beauvais. The whole church has been shot into ruins, the tower has collapsed, the front and the portal are smashed. The wonderful Renaissance stained glass from 1510 and 1552 in the interior of the church have also been destroyed. In the same way, the St. Sépulcre church, which was begun at the beginning of the 16th century and was consecrated in 1519, has been completely ruined, the graceful portal, imitated from St. Pierre, has collapsed, the side corner-towers have been shot to pieces, the Renaissance and Baroque treasures in the interior are destroyed. At the moment of evacuation,

¹⁾ A. Alexandre, *Monuments détruits*, p. 203, certifies that the church is à peu près intacte.

²⁾ Emile Coët, *Histoire de la ville de Roye*. Paris 1880, Champion, 2 vols. — Good illustr. of the glass-paintings on plates in the publication *La Picardie historique et monumentale*. Paris 1902, Picard, II, p. 143. Comments by Ch. Duhamel-Decéjean and Abbé Odon. Good illustr. also of the churches of Montdidier in the same work. A number of good illustrs. of the destructions in Péronne, Bapaume, Roye, in Clemen, *Zerstörte Kunstdenkmäler an der Westfront*, p. 13 ff.



Sermaize. The church in autumn, 1918



Etain. The church after its destruction by the French in summer, 1916



Huiron (Marne). The church in May, 1915



Urcel, south of Laon. The ruins of the church in spring 1918



Roye, interior view of the church of St. Pierre in spring 1918



Cerny-les-Reims. Interior of the church, destroyed by the French artillery



Montdidier. Church of St. Sépulcre in May 1918



Montdidier. Church of St. Pierre in May 1918



Varennes. The church, destroyed by the French

Montdidier was only one awful sea of debris, amongst which enemy shells continued to fall, scattering even the last remnants of the former town¹).

A particularly sad chapter of the list of losses of French monuments form the castles and manor-houses, in which this whole region was so abundantly wealthy. The battles south of Laon, the struggles for the Chemin-des-Dames, the battles of the Somme and of Flanders have here caused great destruction. Misfortune had it that in addition, some of the historically most important places came within the fort-glacis of the Siegfried line. As to whether it was absolutely necessary to destroy all these castles the military authorities must answer. South of Laon, Arrancy, the seat of the Marquis de La Tour du Pin, which for a long time had been carefully spared, was ruined by the enemy. The proud castle of Pinon, the seat of Princesse de Poix, after almost the whole furniture had been brought into safety in one of our large depots in the north of France, after weeks of laborious work, was bombarded from both sides during the battles for the Pinon forest and at last it was destroyed by the French artillery. The castle of Anizy is also seriously damaged. The large Renaissance castles of Nogent and Caulaincourt, the seats of the Counts Caulaincourt (who were promoted by Napoleon to Dukes of Vicenza), and the stately castles of Havrincourt (the seat of Marquis of Havrincourt), and Folembray, which belongs to Count Brigode, have all been wrecked. The castle of Bourlon, near Cambrai, was destroyed by the English during their advance, the same as was the picturesque castle of Rolincourt near Angres, south of Lens. The castle of Manancourt, south of Bapaume, the ducal seat of the Marquis de Folleville (now in the possession of the old family Rohan-Chabot), which was a reconstruction of the old Baroque castle of 1750, has also been destroyed by English shells; the Baroque building of Carlepont, south of Noyon, dating from the middle of the 18th century, has been destroyed by the French. The fanciful and charming late-Renaissance castle of Tilloloy, which is unique in its graceful outline and delicate form, has been severely damaged by French artillery. But all this is only one section. What has become of Thugny and Marchais, which came within the firing line after the retreat of our army, and what does it look like in the whole region north of the Aisne-line? These are anxious questions which arise within us. We fought long for the preservation of the castle of Coucy. The representatives for the preservation of monuments have here constantly pleaded for its protection, and the army in whose section the castle lay was inclined to comply with the request. Finally, however, after the highest authorities, upon urgent request, had themselves made a last inspection of the magnificent castle, it was decided that under the circumstances the watch-tower, with its height of 55 m, would be an altogether too favourable observing-post or sound-recording station for the enemy, with calamitous consequences for us; and the proud castle had to fall in view of these considerations. It was a hard decision and for us a bitter truth. Certainly, when the Donjon was blown up by German sappers, they only completed what Mazarin had attempted by order of Louis XIV in 1652, but only with partial success. One may well ask where else it is recorded in the whole history of war that a commander-in-chief undertook a complicated journey at one of the most critical moments of a whole war, in order to ascertain whether an enemy monument could not be spared.

North of Montdidier, Albert represents another centre of destruction. Here the noble basilica of Notre-Dame of Brebières, the life-work of the architect Edmund Duthoit, was seriously damaged as early as the autumn of 1914. The last battles have completed this work of destruction and thereby ruined still another memorable monument of modern architecture and ecclesiastical art, with its stained glass, mosaics, marble figures, even though they but represent a somewhat superseded art.

Adjoining this, towards the north, is the territory of the battle-fields around Arras. The first months of the war had already sealed the destruction of the town. Here also, the later bombardments have completed what the first began. With intense grief we have had to follow from our positions immediately before the town, how the still remaining rows of houses collapsed one after

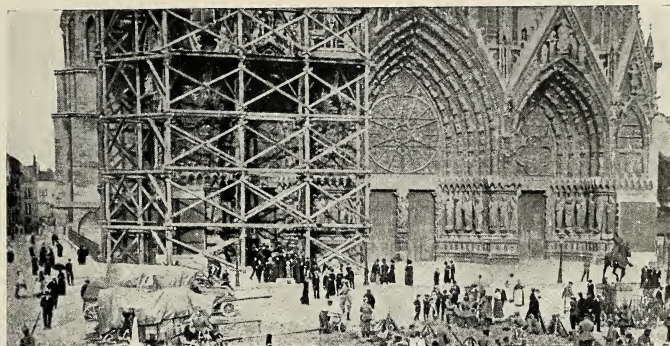
¹) In the "Figaro" (August 14, 1918), Roger-Miles brings an astonishing article on Montdidier, full of sorrow at the destruction of all this beauty, above all of the sanctuary, St. Pierre. For the historical fact that the town was destroyed by the Entente artillery, he uses the phrase: "On a dit dans quel état de ruines intégrales les boches ont laissé Montdidier sous l'héroïque poussée des armées alliées!"

another¹). The town was the junction of all railways and streets which ran together here in an acute angle; for us it was the entrance to the rich Artois and for our enemy the sally-port for Douai and Cambrai. In the foreground, there are the towns of Fontaine, Chérisy, Guemappe, and others, well-known through the army reports of both sides. As far as north of Vimy almost all the villages, churches and castles have been razed to the ground. Bailleul with its cathedral at last fell a victim to the battles of 1918. The zone of devastation, which is here due to English shells, is continued in the neighbourhood of Lens. The destruction of the town and the industrial buildings in the district, by the enemy artillery, began slowly, until at last it was systematically completed. This widely-extended industrial town, which once had 35 000 inhabitants (together with its suburbs, 50 000) and was a centre of industry, the heart of the *Terre noire*, was gradually crushed into small fragments. It was terrible to witness the agony of this once so rich and animated town; all that remains is a sea of ruins and scattered bricks, from which rise up grotesquely distorted iron structures and framework. Even the cemetery is destroyed, the tombstones overturned, the stones pulverised. Far beyond is absolute Nothing and Silence. Not only the architecture and all works of human construction are destroyed, but even the landscape has apparently ceased to exist in its old form. Here was once the village of Souchez, which has been painted by Henri Barbusse almost as a parable of that picture of horror, in his war-book, "Fire", the most terrible and pathetic picture in this gruesome novel.

We must once again return to the theme of the cathedral of fortified Reims. And still one need not lose a single further word about the events of September 1914. The matter has long been decided for the world. It was a tragic misfortune which brought about the fire in the roof and the large wooden scaffolding on the western front, through which was caused the damage to the ornamental statuary of the portal on this front and its neighbourhood. This painful loss and its actual extent has been exhaustively treated in the earlier reports. The opinion of the German military authorities has been given in the pamphlet „Die Beschießung der Kathedrale von Reims“, published by the Prussian War-Office. It may be regarded as incontestably settled that arrangements for an observation-post were made on the north-western tower of the cathedral, as well as that French troops and French artillery²) were placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the building. The French military authorities have referred

¹) The destruction is treated in detail with illustrations, showing the progress of the bombardment, in *Clemen's Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 19. — A number of photos is contained in the Arras volume of "Cités meurtries" Paris 1915, *Éclair*, in the book "Arras sous les obus" by Abbé Foulon, Paris 1916, Bloud et Gay, and in A. Alexandre, p. 129, pl. 25—27. A drawing of André Ventre "Les nouveaux monuments historiques", in the illustration of *Februari* 23, 1918.

²) War-Office, *Die Beschießung der Kathedrale von Reims*. Berlin 1915, Georg Reimer. One is here referred to the printed documents, to the unanimous evidence of military persons, of a nurse, a military doctor, and a vicar. The most important documents are to be found in the essay by Clemen, *Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 23 ff. The French material, which has thoroughly dealt with the matter of Reims is given in detail by A. Alexandre, p. 55 ff. This compels us to restate the unfortunate case of Reims here once again. — At the last moment the "Revue des deux mondes" (January 15, 1919) publishes an essay by the Bishop of Dijon, Msgr. Landrieux, "L'utilisation militaire de la cathédrale de Reims", with the had pleasant heading "un mensonge allemand". A welcome codification of the French conception. But with what arguments does this article work! It conceives an enemy who is said to have stated that the cathedral had been converted into a fortress and had placed within it troops, artillery, machine-guns, sentries and ammunition stores. As evidence for the "préméditation cynique" of the destruction, he adduces alleged conversations of German officers and subalterns which passing Frenchmen are said to have heard. There can scarcely be a less reliable type of evidence. — As the question of the unfortunate and disastrous arrangement on the north tower of the cathedral has been brought forward again by A. Alexandre and Msgr. Landrieux, the indisputable French evidence on the matter is here formulated. First the Bishop of Dijon gives us valuable details. As early as August, a station for wireless telegraphy was erected on the tower, then a projector was fitted up, which proved to be too weak and only worked for one or two nights. The sentries were provided with rockets in order to give signals. This arrangement existed still in September, up to the time of that disastrous bombardment. It is a scaffolding which here comes into question, "un échafaudage", a raised platform, une estrade (l'estrade dépassa la tour, les hommes émergèrent de tout le buste). Cf. Landrieux in the "Revue des deux mondes", 1919, p. 251. And now comes an inconvenient confession: Il semble bien qu'au lendemain de la réoccupation de la ville par les troupes françaises, on ait songé à faire de l'observation du haut des jours, le 14 et le 15 septembre (!): en fait dans la crainte précisément de compromettre le monument, on y renonça. In the Illustration, September 26, 1914 (p. 231), Ashmead Bartlett, the well-known war-correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, reports that on the day following September 12,



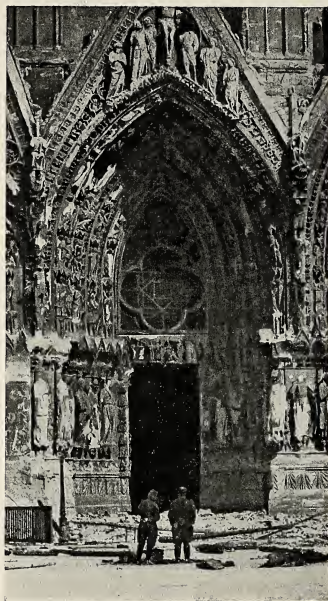
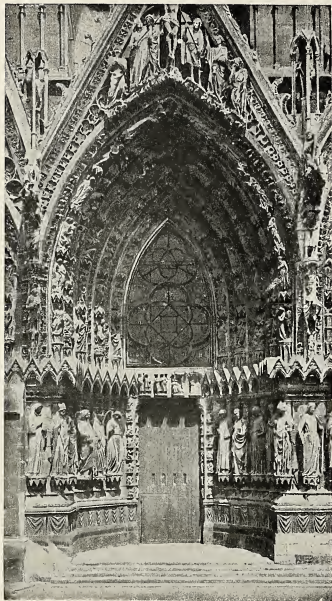
Reims. The scaffolding in front of the north-western tower of the Cathedral in September 1914

to the Red Cross Flag which waved from the tower. In support of this they placed German wounded, and exclusively such, under its protection. It is incomprehensible how one can cite this measure as a protection for the building. The Prussian War-Office speaks of "a diabolical and villainous plan which is only exceeded by the baseness of its execution!"

The existence of arrangements for an observation-post on one of the towers and the necessity of removing it, really gave the external impulse for the disastrous shot on the cathedral. Of many others, one would like to repeat the verdict of one witness who is quite beyond suspicion, the "Times" of September 22, 1914. "The bombardment of the cathedral was apparently provoked, in theory at all events, by the fact that the French had planted artillery within the city and replied to the enemy's guns with great vigor. Mr. Sidell (the correspondent) on leaving the cathedral saw at the head of the main street a park of French artillery with a strong rearguard of infantry behind it. The soldiers who were bivouacking in the streets were taking the shells as a matter of course." Who would deny that the collapse of Reims was a misfortune for the defender as well as for the attacking party? Here again, all responsibility for what has happened must be borne by the military authorities on both sides. The military considerations at the time demanded the bombardment; the political consequences were undoubtedly disastrous.

In an appeal which the representative of the German administration for the protection of monuments addressed to the Commander-in-Chief on March 30, 1915, it was stated: "The sorrow at the heavy damage and the partially irreparable loss of the precious sculptures of Reims, the choicest creations of art which French Gothic has presented to the world, is naturally also shared in Germany, and here lovers of art await further news with uneasiness and anxiety. We also realise the enormous harm which the exploitation of the mere fact of bombardment and the distortion and exaggeration of the accounts have done to our cause in foreign countries. Friends and admirers of mediæval art who justly regard this Coronation-church of France as one of the most precious palladia, and not only

herefore on September 13, the French troops "installèrent un projecteur sur la basilique, mais l'enlevèrent presque aussitôt, après que les deux états-majors eurent convenu qu'elle ne servirait d'aucune façon aux opérations militaires". Abbé Thinot who supplements this report in the "Illustration" (October 10, 1914, p. 270) mentions that the "projecteur électrique" only worked for a single night and before any contact with the enemy. It is evident that both reports treat of two distinct events, of two installations which were removed for quite different reasons. The evidence of A. Bartlett, which coincides with our observations (why does Msgr. Landrieux not speak of this article in the "Illustration"?), is not mentioned.



Reims. The left side-portal of the western front, before and after the fire, 1914

of the French nation, hope that it will be possible to spare this venerable building in the course of further bombardment. Whilst paying due regard to military considerations, I would urgently request that the importance of the political factors which are represented in this question may not be under-estimated. This question should not be decided exclusively upon the reports of the military commanders operating in front of Reims. The fact of the damage to the cathedral by our artillery-fire represents a heavy political burden for us."

The French Government, long before this, had had to correct the famous premature declaration which Minister Delcassé had issued to the world in September 1914, according to which the Basilica was only "un monceau de ruines" (the official French telegrams of the same day called it "un amas de décombres"). The well-known English art-historian, Edmund Gosse, who had inspected the cathedral with the permission of the French authorities, reported in the *Fortnightly Review* in the autumn of 1917: "To all who have not yet seen the cathedral it cannot be sufficiently clearly said that the building is not a ruin, but resembles a delicate work of art with which clumsy children have played. It is easy to heap up adjectives and to exaggerate the tragedy, which in itself is sufficiently depressing. The cathedral is not, as many may think, an open ruin. A good half of the windows of the large western rose has been preserved, just as the most beautiful and the oldest of the other windows, have, if at all,

only been slightly damaged. Just those windows which have mostly suffered were inartistic modern works."

The condition of the cathedral vaults, which had stood for four war-winters without protection, caused much more anxiety to the French experts than the scattering of the German shells. French papers and art-journals complained in vain about this matter; in vain did the deputies Gaston Colpain, de Cernier, and de Dion, declare in November 1916 in the French chamber that if the vaults were not protected with an emergency roof, it was to be feared that the frost would make them burst and thus bring about their general collapse¹). The "Temps" (January 10, 1917) resumed this complaint and published an interview with M. Dalimier, the Under-secretary for Fine Arts. M. Dalimier admits: "It is true that up till now, we have not done anything towards the erection of a roof for the protection of the vaults of Reims. We cannot undertake anything in this matter without previous agreement with the military authorities and they have requested us not to do anything in this direction. For any work on the roof would bring about the charge that an observation-post was placed there and the result would be a new bombardment." M. Dalimier concludes: "We have repeatedly renewed our request. We have always received the reply that the position had not changed and that the consequences would be the same. So it has happened that we have allowed the preparations that were made for the erection of an emergency roof in November 1914, to remain unused." This explanation from the French authorities for their attitude of refusal was inaccurate as far as it referred to the enemy. The German Government had repeatedly and emphatically stated that it was their wish to spare the cathedral, and it would have been just as easy to discuss the matter and arrive at an understanding with regard to the erection of an emergency roof in the autumn of 1914, as it was two years later. The information concerning the nature of the work which was to be carried out on the roof of the cathedral, as was intended in 1916, could just as easily have been given before. The fact that the cathedral has been at all preserved in its architectonic outline whilst the town itself became more and more a sea of debris, is a proof of the protection shown it by our military authorities.

In the winter of 1916, a memorable effort was made again from an eminent source, in the interests of the cathedral. On October 16, 1916, at the instigation of the French Government, no less a person than Pope Benedict XV., as the highest qualified authority for the guarding of the interests of ecclesiastical buildings, who two years before had raised his voice on behalf of the imperilled cathedral, sent a communication to the German Kaiser, asking for an assurance from the German military

¹) French papers and journals complained during the winters of 1916 and 1917 about the danger which threatened the cathedral through the weather. The "Echo de Paris" reported on January 10, 1917 (according to the "Courrier de Champagne", January 8): Les ravages de l'inondation succèdent à ceux de l'incendie. It is of importance to preserve the text of the declaration of the Under-secretary of State, Dalimier (Temps, January 13, 1918): "Il est parfaitement vrai, que nous n'ayons procédé jusqu'ici à aucun travail de couverture et de consolidation des voûtes de Reims... Mais nous ne pouvons le faire sans une entente préalable avec les services de la guerre, et ceux-ci nous ont priés de n'en rien faire... A plusieurs reprises, nous avons renouvelé notre demande. On nous a répondu que, la situation n'ayant pas changé, les conclusions restaient identiques." — Cf. the official report in the Deutscher Nachrichtendienst, July 5, 1917, Nr. 240 and in the Deutsche Kriegsnachrichten, March 19, 1917, Nr. 57. — One can hardly say that the French scholars and lovers of art have dealt very gently with their own art administration. Listen to Joseph Péladan, who could lay claim to be heard here — was he unjust? In his book "L'art et la guerre" he has devoted a whole chapter to the Reims question, under the heading: Veut-on sauver les statues de Reims? "Or, la commission des monuments historiques partage l'avis de la municipalité de Reims, que tout périsse plutôt que de courir les ennuis inhérents à une tentative de sauvetage." — Péladan, L'art et la guerre, p. 345. — "Décirer et vanter ces débris semble moins important que de rappeler au visiteur que Notre Dame de Reims est sous la menace perpétuelle de l'anéantissement. Elle y est depuis le 19 septembre 1914. On n'a pas dit que personne fût frappé d'insomnie, dans l'administration, pour ce motif." — Péladan, L'art et la guerre, p. 185. — "Quand les statues de Reims ne seront plus que des gravats informes, on dira vandalisme ou germanisme! Soit! Comment appellerons-nous le fait de laisser comme cibles à l'ennemi, les trésors les plus rares?" — Péladan, L'art et la guerre, p. 348. — "Chez aucun autre peuple, des dignitaires, des fonctionnaires, des stipendiés feraient-ils pareillement litière de leur devoir? Les statues de Reims mourront, et personne en France ne sera déshonoré. Il n'y aura que du ridicule pour le bizarre Cazotte, qui a eu l'impertinente idée de prophétiser le désastre, et qui du reste n'a pu le faire qu'à la Revue bleue, à la Revue hebdomadaire et à la Nouvelle Revue, les autres papiers français étant beaucoup trop sérieux pour ouvrir leurs colonnes à une matière aussi dénuée de véritable intérêt que la statue du treizième siècle." — Péladan, L'art et la guerre, p. 356/357. "Jesters do oft prove prophets", runs the saying in King Lear.

authorities that the erection of an emergency-roof, which had become necessary, should not be endangered by artillery-fire. On November 11, 1916, the supreme German military authorities stated that they had no hesitation in complying with the request of the Pope. They only requested the natural guarantee (the Pope himself had already offered such guarantee) that during the work, the duration of which would be stipulated by agreement, all causes for a bombardment of Reims, which would endanger the building, should be excluded. Through the formulated conditions, any cause for a return bombardment with all its consequences should be rigidly excluded during the work of repair. These conditions were communicated to the Pope on December 7, 1916, in a very cordial letter from the Kaiser, in which, whilst expressing his full appreciation of the great artistic value of the building, the Kaiser again emphasised how readily he would extend his hand for the bringing about of an agreement for the preservation of this cathedral, one of the most beautiful temples of entire Christendom. Both of these documents are of such importance that we publish them here with the permission of the Foreign Office and the explicitly given consent of the Pope.

The Pope to the Kaiser,

Rome, October 16, 1916.

Your Majesty,

For important reasons, which Your Majesty will readily understand, We are deeply concerned with the fate of the celebrated Cathedral of Reims, about which We are continually receiving increasingly painful and disquieting reports.

As a fact, it is reported to Us from different sources that this venerable monument of worship and art has been considerably damaged by heavy rain, as the exposed vaults are much decayed and further rain passing through, will eventually lead to the complete disintegration of the vaults.

This harm has been the inevitable result of the cathedral having to remain exposed to the hardships of the weather for two winters, and unfortunately, it seems that the fears are only too well-founded that if the cathedral has to remain in its present condition for a third winter, that is, without it being possible to carry out the most essential protective-work, this damage will lead to a catastrophe.

Consequently, the fear of such great damage with the approach of the coming winter, compels Us to wish for and ascertain the quickest and most effective means for carrying out the necessary repairs without any delay.

We turn, therefore, to Your Majesty and beg for an assurance to the Holy See that the Imperial German Army will not undertake any new bombardment of the cathedral during the planned repairs.

It is, of course, quite clear, that Your Majesty will not be able to give any such assurance without receiving the guarantee from the other side that only civilians will be employed in this work and that no military person will be allowed entrance to the cathedral. Therefore the Holy See would consider it as quite natural, provided Your Majesty had the kindness to accept the conditional obligation, that We should hasten to apply to the French Government for the above-mentioned guarantee, which We confidently hope will be given without any hesitation and will be so formulated as to satisfy any justified claim of Your Majesty and Your Majesty's Government.

We repose Our fullest trust in the magnanimous feelings which redound to the honour of Your Majesty, and in advance, We act as interpreter of the boundless approval which such a noble action will naturally earn from all those who have the culture of religion and art at heart. We thank Your Majesty in anticipation for all decisions which Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to make in this matter, and We gladly pray the Lord that He may shower all the gifts of Fortune upon Your illustrious person, as well as upon all the members of Your house. May He long preserve Your Majesty for the good of Your subjects.

Rome, in Our Vatican Palace, October 16, 1916.

Benedictus pp. XV.

The Kaiser to the Pope.

Chief Headquarters, December 7, 1916.

His Eminence, Cardinal Hartmann, has presented a communication of October 16, from Your Holiness to me, in which Your Holiness has the kindness to express Your warm interest in the preservation of the Reims Cathedral and at the same time to suggest the drawing up of an agreement with the French Government which would render it possible to carry out repairs to the church, which have become urgently necessary for its protection against the roughness of the weather. I beg Your Holiness to be assured that I share most earnestly Your interest in the cathedral, and that Your suggestion meets with my full and sincere appreciation. I have always deeply regretted that my endeavours to preserve the venerable places of worship and monuments of art, which I regard as the common property of mankind, have not always been crowned with success, and that unfortunate circumstances have not allowed this wish to be realised. I have above all regretted that the cathedral of Reims, one of the most beautiful sanctuaries which Christendom possesses, has been so involved through the military measures adopted by our enemy. May Your Holiness be convinced that the fulfilment of the noble and magnanimous intentions which have caused Your Holiness to make the above suggestions would give me deep satisfaction. Acting in this spirit, I have issued the necessary instructions that the suggestion of Your Holiness be examined with the greatest possible good-will. There are reasons of military nature, however, which place certain limits upon the consideration which we are only too ready to take, but I hope that the suggestions contained in the supplement, which aim at a satisfactory solution to the question, will be considered as a basis for the agreement with the French Government, for the attainment of which Your Holiness has so kindly offered to intercede.

I take advantage of this opportunity of again expressing to Your Holiness my feelings of highest esteem and sincerest friendship.

Wilhelm, I. R.

The German Government declares itself ready to offer assurance for the undisturbed carrying-out of the repairs to the Cathedral of Reims which are desired by His Holiness the Pope. Nevertheless, a formal and binding declaration is dependent upon the acceptance of the following conditions, demanded by military considerations.

Then follow the military conditions which were to serve the above-mentioned purpose¹⁾.

One may assume that the Vatican immediately forwarded the answer to the French Government. But what happened? The German Government and the highest German Military Authorities waited in vain for a reply and for concrete suggestions as to the period of this promised limited armistice. The French Government allowed the whole of the following winter to pass by completely unused. With careful preparation for the work (and according to the assertion of the authoritative Under-secretary Dalimier this had been completed since 1914), it would have been possible to erect the roof within the very short space of a few weeks. But nothing was done. One can imagine how much harm the severe winter of 1916, with its three months of continual record cold and the constant drenching and freezing, must have caused the vaults. In their complaints the French suppressed the fact that at the time their Government had it in their power to carry out this precautionary work, and that the execution of the work was frustrated purely through the refusal of the French military authorities. The „Journal des Débats“ opposed the idea of an emergency-roof and maintained that its presence would be but an added danger for the building in the case of a new bombardment. This is only partially correct. Just as in the case of the Soissons cathedral, an emergency-roof would have outlasted even a long bombardment. The French military leaders who, without any regard for the incomparable art-value here at stake, had chosen Reims as the sally-port for the great spring offensive of 1917, and for the chief position for the impending artillery battles of the Champagne campaign,

¹⁾ In April, 1918, French papers (Le petit Journal, April 25) announced that Cardinal Luçon had received a letter from Rome in which the Pope emphasises anew his special interest in the preservation of the cathedral. The account of these negotiations is to be found in Clemen's St. Quentin and Reims, Kölnische Zeitung, 1917, Nr. 761 and 764 and also in the shorthand reports of the thirteenth meeting of the Conference for the Preservation of Monuments, Augsburg, 1917, p. 57.

apparently did not wish to be thwarted by any other considerations in the executions of this plan. The fact that the violent artillery attacks upon the neighbouring heights emanated from the town, which was literally spiked with French batteries, naturally compelled the German military authorities in reply to direct their destructive fire upon the city.

In the winter of 1917/1918, in expectation of serious struggles for the possession of the city, which the Government foresaw as inevitable, comprehensive rescue-measures (which strangely enough had been so long delayed, despite the urgent appeals from lovers of art) were undertaken in the museum, as well as in the Cathedral and other churches in Reims. That the foot of the celebrated Romanesque candelabrum in St. Remi, which together with that of the Milan Cathedral and the crests of the Rhenish state-tombs (Prachttumben) artistically and technically forms the finest example of this art, has been destroyed by fire in the museum of Reims, reveals the incomprehensible carelessness with which one here, just as in Arras, unconcernedly left the treasures of the Museum within the firing-line, after the museum had received an accidental full shot in the autumn of 1914, which should have served as a warning¹). When, as the „Illustration“ (May 4, 1918) reported, the Hôtel de ville, together with the library, was burned during the bombardment of May 3, 1917, one cannot understand why this library had not been brought into safety during more than two and a half years. Just as astonishing is the fact (according to photographs published in French papers), that up till May neither the paintings nor the sculptures had been removed from the museum in Arras. The „Éclair“ (April 25, 1918) emphasises that all this work in Reims was carried out altogether too late. A simple artillery captain achieved what the Administrative Board of Fine Arts had neglected for forty months.

According to the „Temps“ (April 25, 1918), the contents of the museum, the old as well as the modern paintings, the Collection Gérard and the older movable monuments from the Cathedral, the stained glass, the door beneath the large organ, the door of the old vestry, the wooden clock; from St. Remi, the „Holy Virgin“ of the south portal, the statues of the fifteenth century, the chests in the vestry, the stained glass of the 16th century and the choir-stalls from St. Jacques, have all been removed after five months' assiduous work. The figures of the Maison des musiciens have been taken down and removed. The library of the Jesuits in the hospital museum and the property of a number of public corporations have been taken away. The monument of Louis XV., a copy of the original by Pigalle which was destroyed during the French Revolution, was protected by sand-bags. The charming equestrian statue of Jeanne d'Arc by Dubois in front of the Cathedral has at last been brought into safety²).

In spring 1918 a new and still more violent military activity began for the fort of Reims. As early as March 11, 1918, the German army report mentioned that an optical observer had been noticed during the last days on the Cathedral of Reims. The Archbishop of Reims, Cardinal Luçon, protested anew: „What the Germans could have observed was the carrying-out of necessary repairs and protective measures which had been undertaken „pour donner satisfaction à l'opinion publique“, and the French

¹) See the „Revue bleue“ (September 9, 1916, p. 532), in a report by Marcel Magne. The gallery of modern paintings, showing the damage caused by the first bombardment, illustr., Clemen, Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler, p. 35.

²) Here one would like to refer to the astonishing fact that the „Journal de Rouen“ in the numbers 1092 and 1093 of the year 1916 offered genuine old pieces of glass from the Reims Cathedral for sale in French and English; the Parisian Paper „L'Œuvre“ addressed an indignant enquiry about the matter to the Under-secretary for Fine Arts. According to the „Nouveliste de Genève“ January 20, 1916. The Journal de Rouen contains the following notice:

A vendre Vitraux authentiques de la Cathédrale de Reims ainsi Bagues de Tranchées avec vitraux. S'adresser rue Ambroix, — Fleury, rez-de-chaussée.

To be sold, Authentic Stained-Glass windows of Reims' Cathedral and Warrings with stained-glass windows. Address to rue Ambroi, — Fleury, Ground Floor.

A parallel is contained in the „New York Times“, November 9, 1916, which reports that the Angel's head from the Rheims Cathedral has been sold „with all proofs of its genuineness“ by a New York firm of antiquaries to a gentleman from Wilmington, Del., the proprietor of a large ammunition factory. The same report states that other relics from the same origin are obtainable from the same source („Frankfurter Zeitung“, November 29, 1915).



Péronne.
Inner view of the cathedral of St. Jean, in spring 1917



Péronne.
The cathedral of St. Jean, in summer 1916



Péronne. The cathedral of St. Jean, in spring 1917



Arras. The remains of the cathedral. Drawing by André Ventre



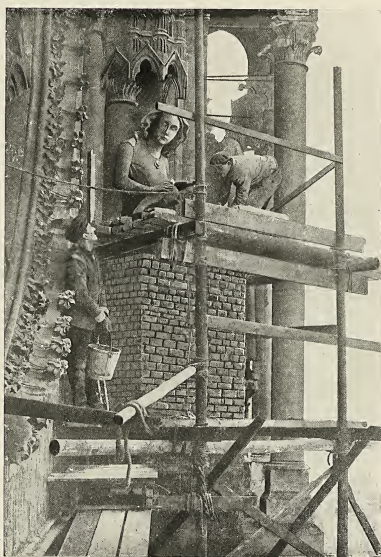
Albert. The cathedral in May 1918



Bailleul. North side of the cathedral

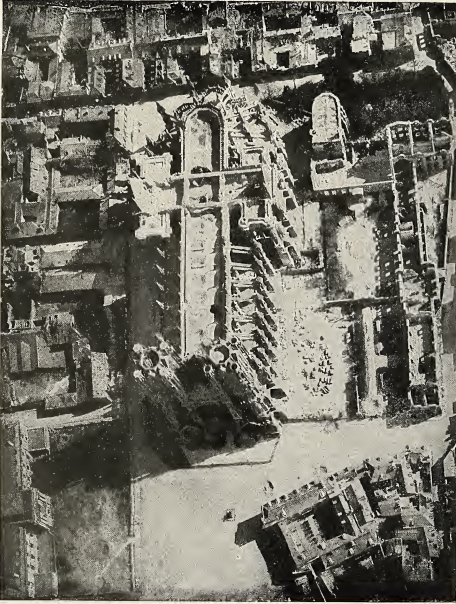
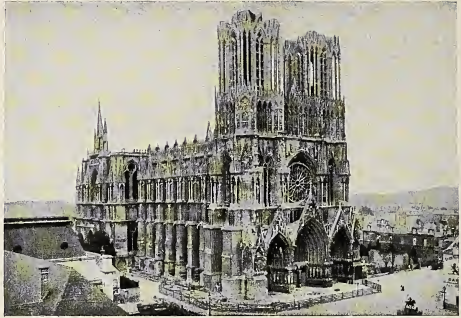


Reims.
The cathedral before the fire in
September 1914



Safety-measures on the northern transept of the
Reims cathedral
(According to the "Illustration" of March 23, 1918)

Reims. The Cathedral after the fire. This shows that even after the fire in the roof the whole architectonic form was intact and that the Cathedral was in no way a "heap of ruins"



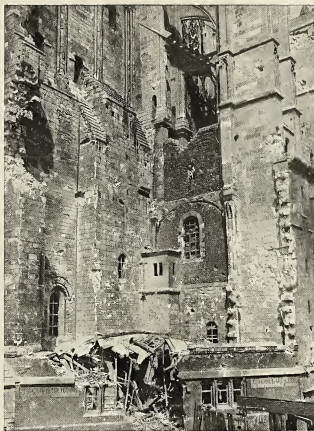
Reims. The Cathedral from a bird's eye view. — This French air-photograph from the summer of 1917 shows clearly that even then the building was still standing, and that the vaults were still preserved



St. Quentin. View of the Cathedral in October 1918



St. Quentin. View of the choir and the northern transept of the Cathedral in spring 1918



St. Quentin. Southern side of the western tower of the cathedral in autumn 1917



St. Quentin.

The Cathedral from N. W. before its destruction in summer 1917



St. Quentin.

The Cathedral from S. in spring 1918



Noyon. The Cathedral 1917



Noyon.

The Cathedral after the French bombardment in July 1918



Soissons. The Cathedral from the north in July 1918

magazines published illustrations of this work¹.)

The Swiss Colonel Feyler had visited the Cathedral in March and had made a report about it in "Journal de Genève" (reprinted in "Temps" April 6, 1918). He reports an interview with the Archbishop of Reims and confirms the carrying-out of this work of repair. This declaration of Cardinal Luçon is as follows: Il n'y a point, et il n'y a jamais eu, postérieurement à l'entrée des Allemands à Reims, 4 septembre 1918, de poste d'observation ou de radiotélégraphie, ni aucune installation à usage militaire sur la cathédrale. Monsignore Landrieux, who was then in office, published a similar statement in the "Temps" (November 7, 1915), in which it was denied that any troops had ever camped in the vicinity of the cathedral. One does not wish to refuse bona fides to the high church dignitary who with admirable courage had remained at his post. But then his recollections do not agree with the assertions of Ashmead Bartlett (September 13, un projecteur installé à la basilique) nor yet with the positive confession of his Vicar-General who had just reported that l'échafaudage, l'estrade, which was originally erected on the north tower for wireless telegraphy (which is surely an installation à usage militaire) and was widely visible, was still standing up to the time of and even later, than the bombardment. The accounts of English and American eye-witnesses as well as the French photographs which distinctly show troops and military trains in front of the cathedral, stand in contradiction to the statements of the Vicar-General.

At the time, the "Éclair" suggested that German prisoners and, moreover, prisonniers de marque, whose word would not be doubted by us, should be accommodated in the cathedral in order to prove the fact; in addition to this, however, it was suggested that a neutral commission should be admitted to certify as to the condition of the building. If, at that time, it was the intention to carry out protective work on the building, then one must ask why the French Government did not take advantage of the liberal expression of good-will made by the German Government, and communicate to them this intention. The supreme military authorities would not have disturbed the work in any way, but would rather have supported it. The spontaneous suggestion was made from the French side to invite neutral experts who would be approved of by both sides — how important for both parties, how re-assuring for the whole of the art-world which was so anxiously listening, would it have been, if such suggestions could have been realised²).

¹) "Journal des Débats", March 15, 1918. René Bazin de l'Académie Française confirmed this in an article in "Écho de Paris", March 29, 1918.

²) The German wireless report of March 24, 1918 (Nr. 3943), again reverts to the theme, after the French wireless report from Lyons (March 14) had brought forward the protest of the Archbishop of Reims against the assertion contained in the German army reports of March 2, which stated that there was a flashlight-post on the cathedral. The Archbishop bases this conspicuous incident upon the fact that repairs were being made. In reply to this, it was stated that German military observers had repeatedly recognised light-signals in action on the tower during night-time. The German military authorities had allowed a period of many weeks for the necessary repairs to the cathedral. This work could have been carried out without suspicion or hindrance from the German side, if the French Government had accepted the earnest offer of the German Government, of December 1916. It must



Soissons.

View in the destroyed cloisters of the Cathedral

Finally, in April, 1918, the long-expected new and heavy bombardment began. A number of conflagrations broke out. According to a report of the "Victoire" (April 26, 1918), 680 buildings were shot into flames, since then a further 200 have been added. The theatre and the Law Courts vanished in flames. During this bombardment, the same as with that of July 1918, the German artillery at the personal initiative of the Kaiser was instructed to spare the cathedral and the Church of St. Remi. If both buildings have been struck in spite of this, it was due to the increased straying of the shells during this terrible artillery duel¹).

We do not know what the condition of the monuments in the unfortunate town was after the last heavy battles. The pictures published in French magazines are terrible. According to the illustrations published by Arsène Alexandre, the north transept of the cathedral has been damaged above the rose, whilst in several places breaches have been caused in the gallery, the arches adjoining the transept and the central vault have been pierced in different places²). But the building stood upright till the last, in solitary majesty, its huge silhouette (which appeared to Rodin in the magnificent visions of his "Cathédrales" like a gigantic kneeling human figure), remained unchanged, the whole colossus dipped in dark ochre from the many fires which had desolated its neighbourhood. In the "Écho de Paris" (May 16, 1918), Maurice Barrès once again described the cathedral and sang a hymn to its immortal and youthful beauty. It rests upon solid and unshakeable foundations and still reveals its beautiful proportions and the noble harmony of its portals and towers. Work of love, enthusiasm and faith once, — the target of hatred and contempt, yesterday, — of astonishment and admiration, to-day — thus Charles Morice describes it.

Amongst the monuments which have found their destruction in the course of the last two years of war, stands first the cathedral of St. Quentin, the former collegiate church of St. Quentinus, to which only in 1876, Pius IX. had granted the title of Basilica. He who in peace-time knew this building, which commanded the whole of the old town and the plains of the Somme for a wide distance, and even then stood horrified at the neglect of its rich exterior, which appealed to the visitor as a paradigm to Maurice Barrès' accusation in "La grande pitié des églises de France", he who then again during the war had repeatedly admired the building, which was so carefully spared and protected by us, will have been deeply moved at the sight of its rapid decay. Of all the Gothic creations in the province of Picardy, this building, together with the cathedral of Amiens, was by far the grandest architectonic monument, a work of incomparable balance and beauty of internal proportions. A complete chapter of French history of art is contained in the history of its construction, which extended up to the beginning of the 16th century. Its neglect and decay appeared incomprehensible to each new visitor and the residents of St. Quentin themselves viewed with great sorrow "La grande délabrée", "the great Decayed". The buttress-system, especially on the southern side, was in a condition of dissolution, the epidermis was everywhere crumbling away. As early as 1916, French air-bombs, exploding on the south side, had forced in the mullion and the tracery of the windows and destroyed the windows themselves. Even after the evacuation of the town by its population, caused through the withdrawal of the German army to the Siegfried line, the supreme command of the II. army ordered the still undamaged glass-windows to be taken down from the choir and the transept (more especially the five precious early-Gothic medallion windows from the Lady Chapel in the choir gallery), and also

be acknowledged that in this case an error on the part of the German observer is possible. But if these lights on the cathedral originated from any work of repairs which was being carried out at night, then one has to regard this order to execute the work without previous arrangement with the enemy as very unwise, for it could so naturally be interpreted otherwise, with its consequences. An illustration of the work, showing the walling-in of the statue of Eve, appeared in the Illustration (March 23, 1918). (Cf. above Illustr.)

¹) In the "Victoire" (April 26, 1918) Louis Piérard reported that up to this day, the cathedral had only received some "obus incendiaires". Up till the end of April, the Church of St. Remi had only been struck by two or three shells, which had not produced any serious damage. If, as according to the same report, 20,000 shells fell into the town on April 10 and 30,000 on April 12, on the basis of percentage one will not be able to deny the intention of extreme protection. An extraordinary amount of attention and care must have been necessary in order to bring about such protection at all during one of the most intense artillery duels in the whole history of war.

²) A. Alexandre, *ibid.* pl. p. 3.

the late-Gothic windows near the chieftair, and the most valuable of the late-Gothic and Renaissance windows in the transept. It was executed under the superintendence of Lieutenant Freiherr von Hadeln, an art-officer serving in this army, together with the assistance of an experienced and expert specialist, who was called from Cologne. This work of rescue was resumed again at the end of May and was finished during the night-time through the self-sacrificing labours of the sappers. In the same way the most important plastic works still in the cathedral were rescued and brought into safety to Maubeuge, together with the treasures of both museums and the library¹).

In the meantime, however, the bombardment and destruction of the building had already begun. Since April 7, 1917, St. Quentin lay under heavy enemy fire, that of the English from the north and the French from the south. As early as June 1917, the exterior showed about fifty full-shots and these shots were almost exclusively on the south side, therefore must have originated from the French front. Even at that time the western building, the rose in the southern transept, and the buttress-system on the south side were greatly damaged. On August 15, 1917, in the course of the intensified bombardment which had taken place since the end of July, the roof of the cathedral was consumed in flames. The framework of the roof was burnt out. At first it appeared as if the interior of the building could still be saved, as the vaults still held, and the gable and the cross-aisles still stood, as in the case of the Reims cathedral after the fire. But here again the "grande délabrée" revealed how frail and how weakened its inner structure had become through insufficient care. The vault in the transept collapsed as early as September, under the combined influence of the weather and the continual bombardment; the vault of the choir followed. On January 17, the bombardment which had begun with renewed intensity at the end of December, brought about the complete collapse of the whole vault in the high-choir, which also tore away the arches. Even at that time the vault in the hall had great breaches. During the last enemy bombardment before our great March offensive, the vault in the third arch of the nave fell in, the coping of the second arch showed large holes, the ribs were loosened. During the last months still further copings of the vault collapsed, and the renewed bombardment in September 1918, sealed the work of destruction. The piercing of full-shots from heavy guns had already made a large breach in the east wall of the cross-aisle at the end of December 1917. The whole crown of the arches and the triforium were torn down, the windows and the perforated parapet above the choir-gallery were pierced. Huge gaping apertures yawn everywhere. The buttresses of both sides are totally wrecked, the gables of the cross-aisles have collapsed. The west-front was crushed by shells of every calibre, the great buttress-wall on the south side was broken through. A desolate heap of ruins filled the interior. The final fate of the town and the cathedral is not known to us²).

More than half of the shells which fell on and around the cathedral were of French origin. Not only through the last bombardment, whose target was the centre of the old town and the unfortunate suburbs (which have been almost totally destroyed), no, from the very beginning the French artillery have had their fair share in this destruction of the cathedral. We have not been able to see the necessity for this obstinate bombardment of the building, it certainly could not have been a light matter for the French military authorities to give their sanction to the destruction of one of the finest monuments of Northern France, but they did it consciously and with a feeling of fullest responsibility. Just as the cathedral, so have the remaining monuments of the town been destroyed, more especially the

¹) About St. Quentin, cf. in detail Raymund Dreiling: Die Basilika von St. Quentin und ihr Charakter, St. Quentin 1916. For particulars of the destruction, by the same: Geschichte der Basilika von St. Quentin im Weltkrieg und in der Forschung, 1917. — Paul Clemen, Die Zerstörung der Kathedrale von St. Quentin, compiled at official request, Berlin 1917. Also appears in French. — Paul Clemen, St. Quentin und Reims, „Kölnische Zeitung“, August 10 and 11, 1917. — Same author: Von der Basilika von St. Quentin, i. Zs. für christliche Kunst XXXI, 1918, p. 53. — Same: Die Zerstörung der großen kirchlichen Baudenkmäler an der Westfront, „Kunstchronik“ 1918, Nr. 42. — The illustrated War Album of the XVIII. army-corps, Darmstadt 1918, Koch, also gives good illustrations. Compare the account of Arsène Alexandre, Monuments détruits, p. 204. — For the work of rescue in St. Quentin, undertaken under the greatest difficulties, cf. the account of Demmler which appears below.

²) F. Vetter, Friede dem Kunstwerke, p. 27, calls the first Havas-report, according to which, on August 17, 1917, "the choir was quite in ruins" and all that remained of the cathedral was "four grey, fire-blackened walls, which form a gloomy cave", just as false and unnecessarily provocative as was — happily — the official French report of September 20, 1914, about the cathedral of Reims being a heap of ruins.

Churches of St. Martin and St. Jacques; the Palais de Fervaques and the Law Courts have suffered severely, and only through a kind of miracle has the neighbouring late-Gothic town-hall, with its graceful façade dating from 1509 been preserved in the main; of the three gables, only the top of the left one has been carried away, whilst the rose of the right one has been damaged; the roof also shows a huge breach.

The attitude of the public in the case of St. Quentin shows a strange inconsistency. Compare the cases of St. Quentin and Reims and think of the loud cries of protest which were sent out into the whole world through cleverly laid channels at the time of the first damage to the Reims Cathedral, in September 1914. With that iron persistency and stern discipline which distinguishes them, the French press and all the Entente papers in Europe and foreign countries suppressed all mention of the long, but surely progressing, systematical destruction of the St. Quentin cathedral and the conscious continual bombardment of the town by French and English artillery. If the German Government had been led by the same spirit as the French in the autumn of 1914, they would have proclaimed this fact to the whole world and logically, they would have been justified in raising a terrible charge according to the same principle as was used by our enemy. But our Government let the matter rest with altogether too mild declarations and historical statements. But any neutral judge, possessed with a feeling of objective justice with regard to the fate of the two churches, stands with a feeling of surprise and astonishment before the fact of the actions of the German military authorities and the Entente having met with such absolutely different verdicts.

Noyon suffered severely from the different bombardments. During our retreat to the Siegfried-position in the spring of 1917, the town was left undefended to the enemy, nor was it bombarded during our retreat out of consideration for its cathedral and its treasures, in spite of the prevailing heavy misgivings and the danger to our troops which arose out of this consideration. In the spring of 1918, when the front was transferred for a second time to the vicinity of the town, it again came within the range of the French batteries. But now the French artillery, whose batteries were placed immediately south and west of the town, no longer spared Noyon, but rather laid a spreading and destructive fire from guns of every calibre upon all parts of the town. The fire thereby was concentrated, above all, on the cathedral and the neighbouring market place. This masterpiece of early-Gothic, which Bishop Balduin II. had begun in 1052, was already shot into flames at the beginning of May. The fire also consumed the frame of the roof which completely collapsed. The two imposing towers of the west front lost their caps, the south tower was burnt down. The conflagration also demolished the organ platform and the beautiful organ-case and burnt out the walls of the western building. A number of full hits had already struck the west front; the south tower, of which one corner was carried away, has suffered severely. The vaults in the nave and the transept have been pierced and the external walls have great breaches. Two arches in the charming cross-aisle were ruined, the outer wall of the quadrum was destroyed; added to this the finely-proportioned building of the chapter library was surrendered to destruction; the picturesque town-hall, with its mixture of late-Gothic and early-Renaissance style was completely burnt out, the interior collapsed, the façade suffered severely. Even the sculpture decorations of the beautiful fountain-monument in front of the town-hall, built in 1770, was seriously damaged by several shots. During the violent French attack in the last weeks of August the centre was almost completely destroyed. Up till the time of our last days in Noyon, the ruin of the cathedral towered above a huge sea of fragments, which had been caused by the French, and up till the very last moment, the town lay "under the heaviest French fire", as was mentioned once again in the German army report of August 29¹⁾.

The fate of Soissons has become an entire tragedy. Since the autumn of 1914, the town which lay at the foot of our elevated positions on the heights of Coufies and Crouy, above the smiling valley of the Aisne, was so near to our most advanced line that every shot could be controlled²⁾. Upon the

¹⁾ Cf. Clemen, St. Quentin — Noyon — Montdidier — Laon, Frankfurter Zeitung, June 13, 1918.

²⁾ From German reports on Soissons during the war I only mention: Cornelius Gurliitt, Soissons, Berliner Tageblatt, January 24, 1915. — Georg Wegener, Soissons, Kölnische Zeitung, June 15, 1918. — Paul Clemen, Die Zerstörung von Soissons, Berliner Tageblatt, August 1, 1918.

personal initiative of the Kaiser, who here once again championed the preservation of an important French art-monument, instructions were issued to spare the cathedral of St. Gervais and Protais during the bombardment of the town; in the autumn, south tower of the west front, the only one finished which according to repeated statements of the military authorities, had been used as an observation-post and for light-signalling, was shot at with small shell in order to make such use impossible. During this war-winter, a full-shot had struck and overturned one of the inner columns, which supported the north wall of the nave, whereby both of the adjoining arcades and a piece of the triforium collapsed. But this full-shot came from the south, therefore from the French side. This is explicitly maintained and confirmed by Paul Boeswillwald, inspector-general of historical monuments, in his report to the Under-secretary for Fine Arts, February 16, 1915 — and only French artillery was stationed in the south. It was officially and in all formality confirmed that a strayed full-shot from one of the batteries in the south of the town had caused the damage, which is certainly painful enough both for the town and the author of the misfortune; this fact should serve as a plain reminder not to regard each chance shot which strikes an historical building from our side as indicating a wish to destroy. Here also we only ask for the same justice. It forms part of the illoyal tactics of French propaganda, that such a case, which is officially certified, should be reversed; in an album which was given out by Monsignore Baudrillart on behalf of the Catholic Committee for French propaganda in foreign countries, this case is illustrated as "the result of a German bombardment". It has not been possible for the French Government to repair these breaches, although they have had almost four years in which to do it! One would like to assume that there were sound reasons for the omission. The whole portion of the upper wall above the breach has collapsed and torn away the side-aisles and also the vault of the nave, which has broken away as far as the springers. An opening, as wide as a whole house, has been rent in the wall of the nave. The second buttress on the north side stands in the air and is no longer connected with the upper wall by its arch. The north side naturally shows considerable damage caused from the German front, in spite of our efforts to protect the nave. The arches of several windows have been torn away, and different buttresses have been injured. On the south side, but towards the French front, the cathedral has two shots which have carried away a part of the triforium and the nave. The west front of the cathedral, which finally faced the French line, received a number of new shots in May and July 1918. The French administration for the protection of monuments had obviously seriously endeavoured to protect the inner part as much as lay in their power. A low wall, with sustaining-arches, was erected right through the building; over this the whole arch has been closed with light timbering. It was intended to erect an emergency-roof over the nave; the collapse of the north wall, however, could not be prevented by quickly erected timbering and supports¹).

The magnificent front of the old Abbey, St. Jean des Vignes, once surrounded by vineyards, towered far above the cathedral. Here also, the French revolution had raged as the great destructress and destroyed the whole nave of the church, together with the chief part of the monastery. The towers, which suffered severely even during the first months of the war, reveal huge new breaches. A powerful full-shot pierced the whole of the western building and both vaults; the three portals have all lost

¹) In the pamphlet "Les Vandales en France", Arsène Alexandre reports on this fact: Mis sans doute au courant de cette paix si relative, les Allemands plus tard reprirent les opérations qui font l'orgueil de leurs savants et l'admiration de leurs artistes (?). Le 9 et le 14 janvier . . . les bombardements furent d'une violence extrême. La cathédrale fut cetté fois blessée dans ses œuvres vives; un des piliers de la nef s'éroula. In the account by A. Alexandre, *Monuments détruits*, p. 189, February 1916 it is stated: un des puissants piliers s'abattait. In explicit contradiction to this, the report of Paul Boeswillwald, inspecteur général des monuments historiques, February 16, 1915, on the matter (reprinted in the pamphlet *Les Allemands destructeurs de cathédrales et de trésors du Passé*, Paris 1915, Hachette, p. 73) states: Le côté sud a été moins atteint; cependant, c'est du sud qu'un projectile traversant la nef est venu l'amputer d'un de ses piliers, entraînant la chute des parties supérieures jusqu'au niveau du glacis des fenêtres hautes, sans réussir à faire écrouler les voûtes. This is also confirmed by the published sketch, which shows that the roof and the rafters above the collapsed part were still preserved. In the southern upper gallery of the middle nave a breach is visible, which the unlucky shot had torn away during its course. A later observation in the same report in no way contradicts the first statement. Cf. the illustration in the album: "La guerre Allemande et le catholicisme", published by the Comité catholique de propagande française à l'étranger, p. 18, also cf. the account of Clemens, *Die Zerstörung von Soissons*, Berliner Tageblatt, August 1, 1918.

their gables. The work of destruction, however, was here completed as early as May by the French, who had been forced back and whose violent artillery fire lay upon the town since May 29. The centre of the town, as well as the cathedral, was shot into flames on May 30. As many as four hundred shells fell on the town in one day. Then the counter-offensive of Foch, which began on July 16, laid the whole town, more especially the part between the market-place and the town-hall, in ruins, with a constantly increasing drum-fire. During the whole of the days of July, the town lay under further violent fire and the French artillery continued the work of destruction, which was begun by us three years before — a tragic fate had willed it that at the end the German artillery should again be compelled to bombard the town from their positions, north of Soissons¹).

At last we come to Laon! The town lay under the long-fire of heavy French artillery since Easter, 1918. The French evidently tried to protect the cathedral, but full-shots reached the cathedral cloisters and it was only by good fortune that a heavy bomb, which fell in the immediate neighbourhood of the choir of the Bishop's palace — was a blind shell. So this work of wonder, the cathedral, is in the main uninjured. The valuable furniture were rescued in time²). Only the central tower, which was in course of restoration, has suffered. But in contrast to this the church of St. Martin at the other end of the town, the church of the former Premonstrant Abbey, has been severely damaged. French shells from the south have here inflicted deep wounds, and have carried away the whole of the first arch adjoining the west façade, the vestry adjoining the southern transept is completely wrecked, a yawning breach has been torn in the outer wall of the magnificent building, in the first arch adjoining the façade, the whole arcades, together with the vault have fallen down, and the upper masonry threatens to collapse. Here it was possible to clear up and to support the endangered parts, it was not in our power, however, to check any further collapse.

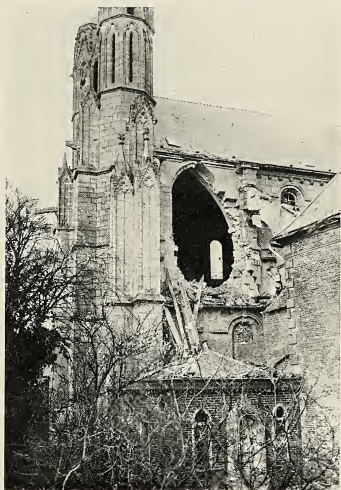
French reports have constantly pointed to the French art-monuments which have been damaged by German air-attacks. The quite harmless damage to the lead roof of Notre Dame in Paris which was caused by an accidental shot during one of the first air-attacks plays an important part as a show example³)! Should one not confront this with the immediate peril which the French air-bombs meant for the most precious and venerable monuments on German soil: that a French bomb not only skimmed the roof of the Liebfrauenkirche in Treves, but also penetrated the roof and the vault and exploded inside; that the neighbouring cathedral in Treves was also struck; that the Provinzialmuseum in Treves, by far the most important centre of Roman and early historical monuments in the West, in fact in the whole of Germany, was struck by an air-bomb of heavy calibre, which destroyed a great part of the new building of the museum, in which the stone monuments had just been placed, and also severely damaged the archaeological treasures. And shall one still further enumerate that a French bomb also fell on the Metz museum and penetrated and partially destroyed the hall in which the ceramics and models were placed? Shall one mention the complete destruction of the valuable and irreplaceable anatomical collection, used for educational purposes, in Freiburg i. Br. which, together with the Anatomical Institute of the University has been a victim of the continual inhuman air-attacks upon the unfortified town of Freiburg? Shall one enumerate the destruction in the unfortified towns of Mannheim, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and Karlsruhe, which has been increased with deliberate intention during the last months of the war? The list would soon become a shocking register.

¹) In the case of these buildings cf. in detail Clemén, *Die Zerstörung der großen kirchlichen Baudenkmäler an der Westfront*, *Kunstchronik* 1918, Nr. 42, p. 173.

²) The correspondent of the "Illustration", October 19, 1918, p. 360, forces himself to utter the following words: *Pour être juste, il faut reconnaître que les Allemands ne furent pas, à Laon, aussi féroces que dans maints autres lieux. Question de degré, simplement. "No demolished houses, almost none in ruins. The town presents its former appearance. One asks oneself whether it is not a dream"* (Petit Parisien, October 16, 1918). "They have not dared or had no time to destroy it" (L'Œuvre, November 10, 1918).

³) The illustration appears as a plate under the "Pièces justificatives" of the accusing pamphlet "Les Allemands destructeurs de cathédrales" (1915, p. 68), and again as pl. I in the official publication of Arsène Alexandre, "Les monuments français détruits par l'Allemagne" (1918).

On French soil in the operation-zone, we had not an opportunity for practising a really active system of protecting monuments in the way of carrying out immediate protective measures, building supports and provisional roofs or closing up the breaches in walls, as we had done or helped to do in Belgium at the beginning of the war. Very soon after our troops had entered French territory, the Commander in Chief issued general instructions concerning the protection of monuments. The single armies were explicitly ordered to protect the historical monuments with every care. As commander-in-chief, the Kaiser took a keen personal interest in the matter and continually attempted to further the protection of art in the war-zone. He championed the preservation of Reims, Soissons, Laon and Coucy-le Château and also showed his special interest in the castles of Pinon, Thugny, Marchais, Caulaincourt. Grateful acknowledgement must be made of the practical interest of the three head-



Laon. The church of St. Martin in spring, 1918

quarter-masters, Generalleutnant Wild von Hohenborn, Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven und Hahndorff. Unfortunately, however, a right to influence military considerations, which would have allowed a really effective activity, did not exist. In a number of cases, the military commanders endeavoured to fall in with the proposal of experts and to provide at least external protection against shells for several eminent plastic monuments and works of art, which were in the firing line, by surrounding them with boards and sand-bags. Such measures were adopted in autumn 1914 at the instigation of the chief commanders in the districts occupied by the armies north and east of Verdun and the Champagne-front. This was also done in St. Mihiel and later in 1917 (before our retirement to the Siegfried-position) in a number of places immediately behind the line, as well as still further north

of Douai as far as Courcelles, and finally, in the summer of 1918, it was also done in Cambrai. In the last-named town, the plastic monuments in the cathedral and the church St. Géry were protected in an exemplary manner against enemy shells and air-bombs by huge shelter-places and packings of sand-bags. In the cathedral, amongst other works, the monument of Fénélon and in St. Géry the large late-Gothic gallery were protected in this way. Here, however, the chief work of protection had to be restricted to portable works of art, which is dealt with elsewhere.

Where positive measures of protection failed or were impossible, it was attempted to preserve the image of the monument by photographs that were systematically taken of the monuments within



Laon. The church of St. Martin in spring, 1918

the threatened and devastated territory, as well as in the country lying further back. The keenness with which the country was explored and the work of photographing carried out depended upon the personality of the available forces in the different armies, but chiefly upon the interest shown by the measure of practical assistance which this work received from the responsible military authorities, though all the army commanders equally supported the matter in theory. It should be gratefully acknowledged that the responsible authorities readily complied with any proposal made to them, within the limits of the attainable and as far as it was not opposed to military considerations: it must also be stated that they lent the utmost possible support to our work. In addition to thanking all the army leaders, our special thanks are due to the artistic Oberst Wild, then chief of the staff of the II. army and to Oberstleutnant Erhardt, at that time chief quarter-master of the V. army. In the area of the V. army around and north of Verdun, as early as the spring of 1917, photographs were taken of all those works in the whole of the district, including the hinter-land, which were doomed to ruin or threatened by enemy shells. In addition to photographs, which were chiefly prepared by the survey department, model drawings were made by a number of architects. Two art scholars in the V. army,

Herbert Reiners (Bonn), who was an officer for the protection of art in the local district, and Wilhelm Ewald (Neuß) were entrusted by the Commander-in-chief with a large publication, intended to register the French monuments between the Meuse and the Mosel; these works would thereby be rendered available for the first time for purposes of German as well as French research¹). A similar comprehensive publication was planned by us for the country occupied by the II. and VII. armies and was also begun with extensive photographing; the publication itself, however, has unfortunately been abandoned. Quite silently and very extensively, Karl Weise (Stuttgart), a self-sacrificing German scholar, who was active as art-officer in the VII. army, with the support of the Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Straßburg i. Els. and the Königlich Württembergische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, visited a great part of the French territory between St. Quentin, Noyon, Soissons, as far as the Belgian frontier, and in 550 places took more than 2000 photographs. The publications of Lefèvre-Pontalis and Moreau-Nélaton give a certain survey of this district, but the greater number of the monuments, more especially the very early ones, had up to this time never been dealt with.



Laon. The Cathedral cloister with breaches caused by French shells

In this district, and also in the region of the Ailette valley and the lowlands of the Aisne, which are especially rich in monuments of the 12th and 13th centuries, a large number of photos were taken of those buildings which succumbed all too quickly to the events of war. Further, in the spring of 1917, before our withdrawal to the Siegfried-position, photos were taken of all those buildings whose ruin was inevitable or which were threatened by impending operations, so that records of them might at least be preserved on paper. This work, undertaken by order of the supreme military command, was carried out very extensively by all the armies concerned. A stupendous and very comprehensive collection of material has here been gathered by German armies, scholars, and artists, which is not only of high importance for research-purposes of the neighbouring German district, but it also has an especial value for the French study of monuments and their preservation and French national research, in that it may form a not unimportant collection of sources and documents. When Laon seemed to be seriously threatened by the persistent French bombardment, the Prussian Kultusministerium ordered that the cathedral should be photographed; this work was carried out by the Meßbildanstalt under the personal supervision of Regierungsrat von Lüpke and with the self-sacrificing assistance of Professor Richard Hamann. The result was an accurate photogrammetrical record

¹) Die Baudenkmäler zwischen Maas und Mosel. Im Auftrage des Oberkommandos der V. Armee herausgegeben von H. Reiners u. W. Ewald. With 120 illus. München 1919, Fr. Bruckmann.



Castle of Pinon before its destruction

of the building; a standard record was produced which would allow of a detailed representation of the building, but the completion of the work was no longer possible.

To the above-mentioned publications dealing with the monuments between the Meuse and the Mosel, are added a long row of separate publications of an art-historical nature. Amongst the greatly accumulated war literature is a large number of photo collections, memoirs of the campaign in the district of an army or a corps, in which, together with social and military reminiscences are summaries of secular and sacred buildings, which had always attracted German interest. Not all the works attain the standard of those of Rauch about Douai, of Feulner about Lille or of Burg and Erhard about Cambrai. But even this small and modest literature, which has drawn attention to various hidden treasures and different unexplored fields, (even if the authors themselves were not able to study the sources), together with the endeavours of the supreme military authorities and the single armies, the activity of the military officials entrusted with the protection of art, and the self-sacrificing work of German scholars, is a testimony to the ardent wish and earnest intention to rescue everything here which could be rescued, on the part of those who saw the fate of these monuments of French art on French soil, and had to witness their peril and their decay.

We can only allude here to the vast work done both at the different fronts and at home, in which German art has participated and the preservation of monuments has been practised, in connection with the arrangement of soldiers' graves, cemeteries, and memorials, in order that these last resting-places of the fallen soldiers of our own as well as hostile armies should be worthy of them, and in trying to prevent as far as possible any artistic horrors from being perpetrated; an effort which corresponds to our homage to the fallen at home. The different armies competed with one another in the arrangement of the cemeteries, in the combination of the single graves, and in the worthy design of memorial monuments. One might say that the soldiers' monuments at the front could be regarded as a lasting future manifestation of German labour and German art on foreign soil, which we believed in later years would only just be tolerated by a hostile people, by a populace which would be only too inclined to regard these works of art with a doubly critical eye. A nation as well as an individual, shows its worth by its attitude at important moments. We were quite conscious that a later generation would measure the strength and purity of our sentiments by these visible signs, that these monuments would appear to the foreigner as a mirror and a formula of German art-intentions and artistic gifts. The first memorials, erected all too quickly, the products of good intentions but inferior talent, have been superseded by monuments and cemeteries in enemy country, which worthily and effectively record the first memories of the war and are of increasing value in proportion as they harmonise in substance and form with the character of the surrounding landscape. A number of our best forces were active in this work, and a number of the most able artists from home devoted themselves to this pur-

pose. A vast literature exists as evidence of this work, and gives illustrations, suggestions, and information about the matter. We have withdrawn almost too many forces from the army and home in order to carry out this work. It was a fundamental principle, here to lay to rest those who had fallen, without any distinction between members of our own and enemy armies; the same monument serves as their mutual memorial, at home as well as at the front. The majesty of Death should reconcile and adjust. Too great a part of these tombstones and cemeteries has been destroyed or mown down by the pursuing enemy artillery, after the falling-back of our army. But the most shameful act was the wilful destruction of the graves of German soldiers, which we had to witness at the time of our advance in the spring of 1918; in Nesle, Ham, Noyon and Chauny and everywhere else we saw that the German tombstones and wooden crosses had been overturned, German monuments had



After a French air-attack

been destroyed or blown up, German inscriptions and emblems, the Iron Cross and the eagle had been removed or erased, also the head of Christ had been taken off; but still more shameful were the inscriptions on sacred spots, the „Dormez assassins“ and other still more disgraceful inscriptions, which history will later refer to with shame¹⁾.

In the „Revue Bleue“ of August and September of 1916, Marcel Magne referred to the different suggestions which dealt with the question of the replacing of destroyed art-treasures and monuments

¹⁾ I reprint the sentences which Henri Lavedan wrote in the „Illustration“, May 12, 1918. — They condemn themselves in the pitiable meanness of their sentiments. „Puisqu'ils sont venus s'échouer dans notre sol, nous le leur concédons. Qu'ils l'engraissent. Mais rien de plus. Les six pieds de terre aux quels, ainsi que tout homme, ils ont droit, ne valent qu'en longueur. Pas en hauteur. Une simple petite croix de bois, courte et bonne, suffira pour que nous soyons amplement généreux. Et, quant au reste . . . à bas! La pioche et le bélier. Nous rejeterons dans la nuit tous ces dieux de leurs piédestals, et la nature, le temps, les saisons, les années, feront de ce néant ce qu'il leur plaira.“ One would like to contrast these words of unworthy hate with the beautiful utterance of the Swiss Alfred Ney, which are born out of the noblest feelings for humanity and which appeal to an international

in France¹). In 1916, a suggestion was made in all earnestness, in a French bill, the Loi Breton relative au classement et à la conservation des ruines historiques (proposition de loi Nr. 1290), to leave those ruins, forests and most famous battlefields which were best suited for educating future generations to hatred, in the condition in which they would be found after the war operations. The Minister of Finance rightly protested that the area of the battlefields was so vast, that one would lose a considerable part of the land for productive purposes by carrying out such a plan. The author suggests that the vieilles cités mortes would become a source of wealth for the cités nouvelles, in that they would attract tourists and visitors! The French have again taken up their customary distinction between monument mort and monument vivant, and Maurice Barrès has introduced a new division of ecclesiastical buildings,



Chauny. The German soldiers' memorial destroyed by the French

églises blessées and églises tombées au champ d'honneur. A whole literature is concerning itself with what is to happen to these churches, as well as to the other destroyed monuments. Architects and scholars, academies and congresses in France as well as in England and America have expressed themselves upon the question, huge organisations have been formed, schemes have been evolved and money procured. Agache Auburtin and Rédont have discussed the chief principles for the rebuilding of the towns in a thick volume, „Comment reconstruire nos cités détruites?“

The bill (January 23, 1917) deals with the details of compensation as well as with re-building and suggests a special commission for the preservation and saving of the ruins and the restoration of historic monuments²). It would be going too far to test all these opinions. The cathedral of Reims also plays the chief part in these literary discussions, it is regarded as a paradigm. One sees here also how the great phrase, which intoxicates and incites the Romanic race, threatens to stifle any reasonable

co-operation for the rescuing and protection of memorials for fallen heroes. These deeply felt words appear in his small work: *Das Recht der Toten. Ein Wort zum Schutz des Kriegergrabes*, Zürich 1918, Orell Füssli (also French edition: *Le droit des morts. Un appel pour la protection des Tombeaux de guerre*); one would like to confront the violators of cemeteries and tombstones with these words. The Daily Mail published illustrations of the destroyed and violated soldiers' memorial of Chauny, with the boastings words: "The French destroy Huns' monument to their dead." This matter of soldiers' graves in enemy country has found an enthusiastic and eloquent advocate in the Scandinavian Rikard Tegibaerg, *Kampen ud over graven, Nordiske Forfatteres, Verlag 1918*, who has spoken grave and scathing words against those who have destroyed the tombstones.

¹) Marcel Magne, *La guerre et la recons-itution des trésors artistiques de la France*, Revue Bleue 1916, Nr. 16/17. — The Proposition of loi no. 1290 relative au classement et à la conservation des ruines historiques, par I. L. Breton states: *Il faut que les ruines les plus qualifiées pour servir d'enseignement aux générations futures, les forêts historiques et les territoires les plus célèbres soient conservés dans leur état où ils se trouveront après les opérations de la guerre.*

²) This bill, by the way, met with very violent opposition in the chamber, in the Commission sénatoriale des dommages de guerre, as well as in the political press and special papers. The Commission's way was prescribed, it was to express their opinion „sur la reconstruction en leur état antérieur, des monuments présentant un intérêt national d'histoire et d'art.“ One finds a very clear elucidation of this bill in the study by Jules Braut, *La réparation des dommages artistiques causés par l'invasion*. Paris 1917, L'Émancipatrice. — According to Reuter, during a banquet on September 21, 1918, which had been arranged by French artists and litterateurs, the English Ambassador, Lord Derby, also expressed himself in this spirit: "All those historical monuments which have been damaged or distorted through German brutality should not be repaired, but should be left in their awful ruin as the best indication of their heroic end, and as the best lesson for coming generations as to what the fate of the world would have been had Germany gained the upper hand!" And what is to happen to those monuments which have been destroyed through French and English brutality?



German soldiers' memorial profaned by the French

But just as this war, with all its universal changes, has altered and re-moulded the historical conception, just as it has brought home to us all too clearly the advantage and disadvantage of history for life, so in the same way all principles for the preservation of monuments will also be overthrown. Up till now we have regarded ruins with a mixture of reverence for the historic record and a fair amount of romantic enthusiasm. The old conception of the ruin and the awe against touching it, will and must fall. There are too many ruins. It is the distance in time which creates the conception of a ruin. The Castle Frederiksborg, near Copenhagen, was built at the same time as the Friedrichsbau of the Heidelberg Castle. When the Renaissance building of Christian IV. was burnt down in 1859, the following generation re-built and extended it without the principles of the preservation of monuments even being discussed. All past principles fail in connection with Ypres, Dixmuiden and Arras. A year ago, the news was published in the press that the Belgian Government had decided to re-build the Halls of Ypres, according to plans in its possession. One must realise that in the sleepy modern town of Ypres, the gigantic structure of the 13th century fulfilled no longer any purpose, and that an effective restoration of the open roof, for which a whole oak-forest would be necessary, would be quite impossible. Should this scheme ever be executed it would deal with an historical reconstruction, a complete re-building, in the same way as the much-admired Maison du Roi on the market place in Brussels, and like the Table ronde in Louvain, which disappeared more than a hundred years ago, ought to be, according to the conception of the Commission Royale. Will one, just as in the case of



German soldiers' memorial in the cemetery at Champion, destroyed by the French

¹⁾ The last word in this discussion is the utterance of Paul Léon, *La renaissance des ruines. La guerre et l'architecture.* Paris 1918, H. Laurens.

or calm reflection, just as when the painter Alfred Roll protests volubly against any restoration of the cathedral or when another, Henri Lavedan, cries out: *Nous voulons que le squelette calciné du temple d'aujourd'hui soit en quelque sorte la châsse des restes du temple d'hier.*

And nevertheless the national conscience will forsake all these declamations and return again to that quiet objective condition which Monsignore Lacroix, formerly Bishop and now Professor at the Sorbonne has formulated, that it is necessary for France to give an example of her vitality and her restored energy, by resurrecting the cathedral¹⁾.

the Campanile in Venice, to preserve the character of the town, re-erect as a sign or symbol the belfry of Arras, or will a strong self-willed architecture attempt here, as elsewhere, to shape an artistic monument of equally intense vitality and as an expression of the newly-awakened life-energy of the 20th century. Will there arise a man like Pierre de Craon in Paul Claudel's mystery-drama, who presumed to build a church in Reims qui sera plus belle que Saint-Rémy et Notre Dame? An unending wealth of problems faces us. We all hope that with the restoration of a land which has been so seriously affected, the creative power of the eternally young French art will likewise find its resurrection here.



The Town Hall and the Unrecht Fountain in May 1918

V.

The Rescue of movable Art-Property in Northern France

By Theodor Demmler

Whoever, in retrospect, to-day wishes to describe and critically estimate the intentions and success of the protection of art during the war, can easily forget how opposed to one another war and the preservation of art are and how little peace-time prepared us for associating them. It was quite natural that a long time would elapse before an official connection would be established either by the enemy or ourselves. It is true, the events accompanying our march through Belgium immediately called the proper German forces into activity. After the first dispatch of eminent art critics to Belgian and shortly afterwards also to French war-territory, some time elapsed, however, before any attempt was made to establish a comprehensive protection of the most important art-property in Northern France. That was but natural. The victorious advance of our armies occupied all the thoughts and forces of the army and nation. The danger to monuments of art also appeared to be over as soon as the fighting troops had further advanced.

Furthermore, when the west front assumed the rigid form of trench warfare, the art-collections, in the towns at least, could remain under the charge of their appointed local guardians as long as there was no danger of their being drawn into the war-zone, in the opinion of the military authorities. It was different, however, in the case of works which lay scattered in destroyed and deserted buildings. Especially at the beginning of the war, a wide and fruitful field here existed for the practice of protective measures. A decree of the Quartermaster-General on March 2, 1915, contains the following recommendations:

"It is advisable to entrust any art-property found in destroyed or totally deserted buildings to the nearest district authorities or, where none are present, to a commission of reputable and trustworthy citizens for storage in a safe place; church property is to be given wherever possible to the ecclesiastical of the neighbouring district.

As far as possible it should be endeavoured to protect works of art where they stand. In the first place the aid should be invited of local authorities or, in their absence, of reliable residents. Further safety may be ensured through the adoption of suitable police measures and the threat of severe punishment in cases of destruction, pillage and damage.

Wherever it is necessary to remove works for their safety, this should be done by the nearest district authorities or reputable citizens.

A record is to be kept of all such measures and sent to the appointed Etappen-Inspektion for preservation.

Precautionary measures are not to be considered as exhausted by these suggestions, which very much depend upon local conditions. They should not lead, however, to an exaggerated search after deserted art-works.

They should rather draw the attention of the troops and especially of the local military authorities, who may have long been stationed in the same place, of their duty towards the preservation of valuable property and indicate a few measures for its protection".

The fundamental ideas of this decree — local protection and the employment of native residents in effecting it — are incontestable. Nevertheless their practical success was but slight. The local commanders were busy with other more urgent military tasks, besides, in most cases they were unfitted for recognising important old art-works. The stimulus for the protection should have been given by the inhabitants themselves, of whom, however, just the owners of these forsaken houses were absent, and as far as the others were concerned it was quite natural that they but seldom placed the necessary confidence in the military authorities. It was manifest that a connecting link was here missing, a mediating organ which could have explained the honest intention of the military administration to the French population and assisted in its realization. One might have thought of appointing reliable representatives from the French themselves, local protectors of art as it were. However attractive this

scheme may seem it was impracticable. Even had we succeeded everywhere in finding the right persons and gaining their co-operation, it would not have been possible to grant them the necessary freedom for travelling immediately behind the front.

Sooner or later therefore the military authorities themselves had to establish such a mediating organ. The first impulse came from home. The general superintendent of Prussian State Collections, Wilhelm von Bode, who had already succeeded in obtaining the dispatch of Otto von Falke to Belgium, gave also here the deciding stimulus to which the Prussian Kultusminister readily responded.

The movement for the protection of French art-monuments which now began, was not connected with the above-mentioned decree and the inadequacy of its fulfilment. Furthermore, at first it was not concerned so much with private and untended property in the war-zone, as with the treasures in the museums and churches.

First of all, it was of urgent German interest to ascertain whether the contents of these buildings were really completely intact, whether they had suffered up till then through the war, and whether, as had been reported, parts of the collections had been removed or concealed before or after our occupation. Afterwards, however, through the uncertain duration of the war and the increasing danger to towns behind the firing-line, caused by long-distance guns and air-attacks, it became necessary to find means for protecting this property.

The local circles themselves, from whom the suggestions emanated, at first had no idea of the urgency of such measures. In reality, the west front, which had been stationary since the Somme battle in the summer of 1916, began to move again at this time and the German military authorities began their preparation for the new system of defence which was revealed in the strategical retreat and the shortening of the front at the beginning of 1917¹⁾.

Only a few weeks were required to ascertain that the contents of all the collections in Northern France, with few exceptions, were in their proper places, and also to draw up the desirable guiding-lines for the protection of art. The work would have succeeded more rapidly had it not been interrupted by a number of practical salvage-measures, necessitated by the Somme battle, which could not be deferred.

During this practical work I gained an insight into the difficulties which had to be reckoned with from the German side in the protection of art. The greatest difficulty was the scarcity of means for removal and transport. No one who wishes to justly appreciate the achievements of the German military authorities during the last two years of war, in any field can pass over this fundamental fact. When our work for the protection of art began at the end of 1916, the inspection of districts and castles near the front, as well as every transport which was not of military urgency, was rendered extremely difficult compared with 1915, owing to the economy which had to be practised in the use of private and goods conveyances, and naturally most of all just in those places where our protective measures for art were most necessary. To have made extensive requests on behalf of the protection and preservation of art from the very beginning would simply have resulted in the military authorities having to refuse their co-operation, not out of any hostility towards art, but from a conscientious feeling of military responsibility. It was more advisable to link up with any interest for art shown by the troops and commanders; it was necessary to induce the military authorities — in addition to their already over-abundant tasks — to provide conveyances, material or men and very often all three together, for the impetuous works of art in their district. It is very evident that the granting of such requests, even with the best will, had to be refused when material and transport means were lacking even for the fighting troops.

A second stage followed this; there came "quieter" times which were more suitable for salvage-work. A systematic and comprehensive scheme of work could now have been begun; it became possible to remove from a town all its irreplaceable works of art, valuable and antique furniture, documents and literary treasures. What uneasiness, however, was thereby awakened amongst the population! It was often my experience later that similar rescue-work could not be carried out or had to be deferred because the army commander just at this moment and at all costs had to avoid giving the French the impression of a threatening attack or a planned evacuation.

¹⁾ My activity on the staff of the Quartermaster-General, which in the first place was only intended to be of an informative nature, began at the end of October 1916.

Nevertheless such hindrances to the execution of the work should not prevent the urgency of a protection of portable works of art from being emphasised or any discussion as to how this could be realised.

Just as the authoritative departments of the military administration, so I also have constantly maintained the stand-point that the best solution was contained in a removal of the endangered property from the war-zone. In Germany we could have found the necessary storage-depots or exhibition halls and the expert supervision and attendance for any quantity of works which might have come into consideration. It must be frankly stated that our opponents are chiefly responsible for the fact that this scheme could not be carried out, and that one had to content oneself with emergency measures or rather measures which always appeared as such to the army administration. Long before this, had begun the poisonous campaign of the press, which suspected each new German measure of dishonest intention and eagerly seized upon every opportunity of bringing forward new proofs of German barbarism and rapacity. It was to be expected that in this case the matter would not stop at the outpourings of the enemy press, but that the alleged pillage would be utilised for causing retaliation, especially against German property abroad. For this reason the Ministry for Foreign Affairs opposed any storing of art treasures on this side of our frontier and the army administration had to act accordingly¹⁾.

Therefore it happened that we were restricted to the narrow strip of country between our front and the Belgian border, which naturally came into increasing demand for purely military purposes, the longer the war lasted and the greater the employed masses of troops became. A look at the map shows that almost all the towns (Laon, Chauny, Noyon, La Fère, St. Quentin, Cambrai, Douai, Lens, Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing) were excluded from the very beginning as places of refuge, as they themselves belonged to the threatened zone. To the rear there was only one town, certainly also near to the danger-zone, whose museum offered sufficient accommodation for large quantities of valuable objects according to modern ideas, and that was Valenciennes. The museums in Sedan and Charleville were small and unfavourably situated just for the most important part of the front. In places like Maubeuge we had occasionally to change our depots, in other towns all large buildings had long been occupied as hospitals, convalescent homes, or for other army purposes. Isolated castles offered too great difficulties both for transport and guarding; in short, the choice of salvage-depots was extremely limited from the very beginning. It was all the more necessary therefore to avoid an indiscriminate accumulation of what just seemed to be worth saving, and rather to draw attention to the large irreplaceable treasures in public collections. There are now so many complaints that many an old castle library and much furniture which had been loyally preserved for generations has fallen victim to the war; whoever wishes to be just must confess that even without our lack of transport means, it would have been quite impossible to remove into safety the masses of valuable furniture in this wealthy and thickly populated country.

In addition to the question to which place, there was the second one, what difference was to be made between public and private property? It was solved, in that private owners themselves were asked to apply to the army administration for the protection of their art-property. Nothing was to be removed against the wish of an owner. On the other hand the military authorities reserved the right to reject objects which did not appear of sufficient worth to them and which would have taken up space for more important works. Happily we very seldom had to avail ourselves of this right. Our work also came into force in those places where neither the owner nor a representative was any longer present: here, certainly, much more might have been done at the beginning of the war had we possessed more extensive means.

The responsibility of the military administration as supreme district authorities was greater with regard to public property; naturally also here the proper local officials were consulted, although the final decision as to whether a removal should take place or not was vested in the German authorities, who were able to judge of the extent of the war-danger and the efficiency or inefficiency of the local

¹⁾ Communication of the Quartermaster-General to the Prussian Kultusminister, January 14, 1917. "... Therefore to my regret I am not in the position to order a removal of art treasures to Germany or Belgium. We shall endeavour to accommodate the imperilled works in French places."



Etain. Church. Pietà of Ligier Richier
before the transfer at Metz

what was really important and irreplaceable. This was possible when the execution was chiefly left to the armies, who however, were advised by specialists. A three-fold task fell to the experts, as sections of the army-administration: (1) making suggestions for the salvage-work, (2) the supervision and fulfilment of the adopted measures and (3) the responsibility for the established art-depots. The supreme commander of the army gave the final decision as to the military admissibility and urgency of the work. The Quartermaster-General, also advised by a specialist, adjusted the fundamental questions and in the case of large objects lent his stimulus and suggestion to the armies.

These principles were sustained during the last two years of the war. In my opinion they were adapted to the formation of our army. Naturally an extension in the matter of details would have been possible; experts could also be appointed for smaller districts and groups. The attitude of the army authorities however, always remained decisive. Not all equally sympathised with the idea of the protection of monuments. There were departments which readily assisted us once, but then regarded the matter as permanently settled. They denied the necessity for a permanent supervision of monuments by an expert who was constantly at the disposal of the supreme commander and who had the right of making reports to the Superior-Quartermaster. That was chiefly the case in districts which had no important places or public collections. One frequently heard, "there is no art at all in this neighbourhood". It was not easy to convince the military authorities of the opposite, although we nearly always succeeded in doing so. Comprehensible though this resistance from different commanding authorities was — all the higher staffs were increasingly burdened from month to month with tasks of an economical, technical and other nature and their assistants dangerously swelled in number, still, for the preservation of art, the army experts could not be dispensed with if anything of real worth was to be achieved. In the French organization which was established by the Government late, but then very energetically, the superintendents of the "Service des monuments et d'œuvres d'art" in the three large sections of the front, the north, centre, and east, possessed their own means of transport, private and goods conveyances, as well as their own fairly large working staff. This could not be done for the similar German organization; all the greater therefore was the desire to possess their own administration in each army, so that they could draw attention to the necessary tasks and immediately become familiar with the peculiar needs of each district and place. It was not possible to avoid a certain inequality in the treatment of different parts of the country: the increasing scarcity of transport means considerably heightened

protection better than the local officials. We shall see that this compulsion which was not infrequently applied, has proved a blessing in more than one case for French art-property.

To come to the matter of the "organization" for the protection of art! It was at first modest and gradually developed out of the immediate needs and had only a very limited staff. It is not my task to explain this in detail by reason of military considerations; all who have been at the west front, know how much keener and more intensive our warfare had become since the Somme battle, how new demands for the replacing of men and material constantly approached the military leaders, how the means of transport were almost permanently strained to the utmost and how everything that was possible had to be extracted from all the formations, in order to satisfy the demands of the moment.

The attention of the supreme military authorities in connection with the protection of art was therefore as much concerned with relieving the troops of all unnecessary burdens as with protecting



St. Mihiel. The sepulchre of Ligier Richier at St. Etienne

the difficulties of the forces which were at our disposal. All the more therefore should a considerable part of that which has been achieved be regarded as the personal merit of the specialists. In its variety it is often stamped with the individual character with which the experts attacked their tasks.

The French front was divided into 6 sections for our work, so that the changes in the boundaries of the army districts which were made in course of time can be disregarded. I name them, not according to their armies, but according to their geographical situation:

- | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. Between the Meuse and Mosel . . . | salvage-depot | Metz. |
| 2. Verdun—Argonne | „ „ | Montmédy etc. |
| 3. North of Reims—Rethel—Vouziers . . . | „ „ | Charleville-Sedan. |
| 4. Laon: The Aisne-front | „ „ | Fourmies. |
| 5. Noyon—La Fère—St. Quentin | „ „ | Maubeuge. |
| 6. Cambrai—Douai—Lille | „ „ | Valenciennes. |

To begin with the first section had special conditions. Metz lay beyond the French border, it was, however, the only place of refuge in the whole district. The work here had already begun, in fact had already been completed in the main, before the supreme military authorities issued their instructions for the preservation of works of art. The director of the Metz museum, G. B. Keune, well-known amongst archæologists, who had been appointed and supported by the local military authorities, had produced exemplary results since the end of 1914. As his work has not remained unknown to the public I need here only refer to it¹⁾. It was astonishing with what courage the most awkward tasks were attacked and finished, for example, the transport of the greatly imperilled stone relief sculptures in the churches at Etain, Hattonchatel, and St. Mihiel, which were very difficult to remove. Wherever a removal from the wall could have caused damage to the works, as in the case of the beautiful Entombment group of Ligier Richier in the church of St. Etienne at St. Mihiel, protection was afforded by surrounding them with sand-bags, which in this case, the Bavarian troops stationed there carried out with zeal

¹⁾ A report of Keune himself. "Kriegsarbeit des Museums zu Metz", supplement, number 8, of the "Sechsten Berichts über die Verwaltung des besetzten Gebiets von Longwy und Briey", also as a pamphlet. Further in Clemen's: „Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz." Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 1915 (special edition). With regard to Metz as a salvage-depot, as well as for several of the adjoining sections, I may refer to my description, written for the French in the occupied territory, "Asiles d'art", in the almanac of the "Gazette des Ardennes" for 1918. (Good illustrations, especially in Clemen's work.)

and understanding, so that at least the danger from shell-splinters, which had already considerably threatened the building, was lessened. It was impossible to protect the large late 16th century stone Retabel in the choir of the same church by the same means, and so its removal was ordered by the army. This had to be finally abandoned, however, as it was not possible with the available means to dismantle the large monument and remove it to Metz undamaged. One can but hope that it has been spared during the last battles, which had as their goal the long-maintained military centre. Keune was very anxious to preserve the threatened work, here as elsewhere, if only on paper. Naturally also all the stone-groups which had been protected with sand-bags were previously carefully photographed. The plaster-casts which were still at St. Mihiel were sent to Metz in the same way, as irreplaceable documents¹).

What should be more natural than that the pieces of French sculpture which had been brought to Metz for safety should be again carefully reconstructed and united in an exhibition in the small Temple Church? Could the purpose of this whole work of salvage, the preservation of these venerable records of the Renaissance in Lorraine from the blind chance of war destruction, be more clearly emphasised than by again exhibiting them to all lovers of art, after their happily completed removal? It has seemed incomprehensible to us that eminent French papers have been able to report this German work on behalf of French national property as an exhibition of stolen art works and as robbery. However, this may be the result of a mistake caused by a deficient or distorted representation of the facts. One could have somewhat understood this three years ago. But to-day? The French civil authorities who entered Metz immediately after the evacuation of Lorraine hastened above everything else to depose the director of the museum from his office and to substitute the German inscription on the Temple Church: "Museum der Stadt Metz, Schutzverwahrung von Kunst- und Kulturwerken" by the French inscription: "Garde des objets d'art volés par les Allemands". The wife of President Poincaré was shown our exhibition with this inscription, which certainly must have left upon her a deep impression of German rapacity²).

It seems to be an impossibility even now for the French press to acknowledge that the work which these so-called German "thieves" carried out in enemy country was identical with that of the French themselves in their own country.

In addition to the Temple Church there were another four depots for rescued works at Metz. The library-treasures and the documents which were specially attended to by Archive-director Dr. Ruppel, who was then in office, naturally formed the major part of the works. The army chaplains here, as elsewhere at the front, had saved a large number of sacred vessels from deserted churches, which were given into the custody of the Bishop of Metz.

The northern part of the front around Verdun takes us into the territory of the V. German army, which in the same way as the adjoining III. army of the Champagne front had in the main not changed its position during the whole period of occupation. Such a permanent residence in itself provides a favourable condition for the preservation of art. Owing to the initiative of Heribert Reiners, who was active in the V. army, the work developed very favourably in his district as early as 1916. Special thanks should be accorded the military authorities for their interest, particularly to the Superior-Quartermaster of the V. and later the VI. armies, Oberstleutnant Ehrhardt, who promoted our work with practical support and devotion. Also the President of the district of Metz, Freiherr von Gemmingen, the chairman of the society for Lorraine history and archæology, most effectively supported the commencement of the protection of art in this neighbourhood by his intercession. In this district, museums and an extensive transport of works of art did not come into question, therefore it was all

¹) On May 1, 1917, a salvage department was established for works of art and archives in the district of Metz, for the occupied sections of Longwy and Briey. Ludwig Burchard undertook the protection of art, in which work he was active until August 1, 1918. Later on, the removal of works decreased, but the whole territory was systematically inventorised and comprehensive precautionary measures were introduced.

²) Not until February 1919, when the rescued works in Metz were examined and officially registered by representatives of both nations, was this word "volés" obliterated, upon our reminder, by M. Paul Vitry himself, the delegate from the French Ministry.

the more possible to exercise a uniform supervision and attendance for the whole district; that which had to remain an unattainable ideal in more animated war-districts was realised here, where the same work-loving person was able to continue in office, with but a short interruption, till the end of the occupation.

A short account by Reiners himself gives at least the outlines of his activity:

"In the middle of September 1916, I was entrusted with the inventorization of the works of art in the whole army. Thereupon I organized a system for the protection of art and have since preserved all the works of art to be found in the army district from removal or destruction.

The works of art from the churches which were destroyed or situated within the range of guns were transported to the rear, the greater number to Écouvieux, others also to Montmédy and Stenay. Rodin's bronze statue of Bastien-Lepage from the grave of the painter in Damvillers, as well as a number of paintings from his studio, were taken to Metz.

The valuables of the churches in the places which lay further back and had been partly evacuated by civilians, were entrusted to the French ecclesiastic of a neighbouring district, where this was not possible they were given into the charge of the local or etape authorities.

Accurate lists of private collections, whose owners were still present, were compiled in order to meet any possible slander or accusations.

A regular control was exercised over all objects through occasional inspections.

In addition, lists were handed in to the commanding authorities of all works of art in their district, whose transport would come into consideration in case of danger. I tried to awaken the interest of the troops in the art monuments within their district, by lantern-lectures in the different places.

The most important measure, however, was the inventorization of all monuments of art in the army zone. I ordered that all the buildings of art-historical importance should be photographed in detail by several architects. Then archives were established in which all photographic copies were collected. The value of these records taken by architects or photographers is especially apparent now that some of the important buildings have been partially or totally destroyed during the October offensive.

I had introduced an equally systematic photographing for the neighbouring district of the III. Army and had already gathered much valuable material. To-day some of the photographed buildings are probably but heaps of ruins."

Conditions were similar in the adjoining Argonne and Champagne fronts. Here the permanent presence of a specialist, however, was lacking. The number of works of art taken to Sedan was not large; the well preserved stone group of an Entombment from Séchault deserves most attention. It can be assumed, however, that the losses of art property will not have been very heavy there, unless the battles during the retreat in October and November 1918 have caused further destruction.

As large buildings were rather scarce, the castles in the neighbourhood, which were not numerous but partly very stately, had to be permanently used as crowded quarters. The superior command took different valuable pieces of furniture and pictures into their charge, other pieces will have suffered damage, as was inevitable with such a long duration of the war. One must realise what large masses of men were crowded together in such a thinly populated district. That under such circumstances many pieces of furniture, carefully treated by their owners, were used for general purposes, that occasionally the furniture of houses was used for fitting up empty dwellings and that also carelessness and ignorance as to the value of the works on the part of the front troops brought about a rough treatment of the furniture, even though the opposite — if only in the interests of those comrades who followed — was constantly preached — all this could be overlooked as something self-evident, if it were not that, to-day, certain demands have been made upon the preservation of monuments which it would never be able to satisfy. Had a permanent regular control by specialists begun immediately in 1914, much would certainly have been preserved that was lost by 1916; but one should not overestimate even the possibility of its success. Troops who have just come into quarters after heavy fighting will always and everywhere take advantage of every comfort of a house in the most direct way.

Also the territory further west and north of Reims, with the hinter-land, the wide, barren table-lands in the Champagne, and the upper Aisne-valley was very poor in works of art. Nevertheless the I. army in the autumn of 1917 decided to allow an expert to explore it. Wilhelm Pinder, who was entrusted with this task, fulfilled it in a perfect manner. From the forgotten village churches, he brought to light, together with modest rural works, a number of sculptures, especially of the late middle-ages, which till now had been overlooked by French students, as well as by the "Classement" of the authorities.

What was south of the Retourne was immediately rescued, but in the neighbourhood north of this stream, a removal had to be given up at first for military reasons¹). Pinder himself removed his protégés quite uninjured to Charleville, by the cleverest use of all transport possibilities. The originally planned development, in the form of an exhibition, was not fulfilled nor yet the intended, detailed treatment of the district; the expert was recalled to the front too quickly.

Mere numbers in themselves have little significance in our work, nevertheless it might be of some use to realise what may be achieved by such emergency work, when practised skilfully and energetically. During his few weeks of office in the I. army, Pinder had investigated all the small towns and villages of the operation and the first etape districts. His complete list of objects worth saving, carefully classified according to their value, includes more than 200 works, chiefly out of the churches of almost 60 places; in addition to this, there were small collections and valuable furniture from 5 castles. The following work was executed by him personally: the transport of 47 works from 26 places, chiefly statues and paintings from churches, partially of considerable size, and a voluminous castle-library.

A conveyance of his own was not at his disposal, he was compelled to apply to the local authorities and to a great extent had to make use of military transports for his purpose.

Obviously one had to adopt a standard of value according to the character of the neighbourhood, during this work of rescue. The churches are very imposing, the furnishing often meagre. When an opportunity occurred, Pinder also removed, and justly so, some artistically unimportant works from the front-zone, which was most exposed to danger, so that in case of a destruction of the building some memento which was associated with the old history of the village would be preserved. The population, as far as it was still present, showed, after initial doubts, an astonishingly keen understanding for the work, more so than in the larger towns in other sections of the front. Here, the same as elsewhere, everything was done to enlighten the residents in the matter of art-protection. Wherever military circumstances allowed, we endeavoured to give the population of the district an opportunity of learning where their property had been deposited by the German military authorities, by means of a visit by a representative. The storage depot in Charleville was superintended from the very beginning by the French museum administrator, as the army expert was not permanently employed.

Further along the Aisne-river, in the district of the 7th army, began the front which was included in the extensive strategical retreat of 1917. The peculiar nature of the task which was imposed upon the organization for the protection of monuments, which was still in its infancy, the continual clashing of its interests with those of military secrecy, and the economising of transport-material has previously been mentioned. Everything was done by the authorities of the 7th army to induce the local commanders to preserve valuable art-property by its removal. The result, which in the main is in the depot at Fourmiers, is not unimportant in extent. The quality could have been still higher if the pressure of time had allowed the suggestions of the local military commanders to be always tested by an expert. That was only possible in a few castles and larger places. Unfortunately, finally the retreat itself proceeded more rapidly than was expected and more than one case is known to me, where works of art which were ready for transport had to be abandoned because the waggons were required for other purposes²).

¹) As a fact, this section remained quiet for a long time. During the last battles of 1918, however, a comprehensive plan of assistance unfortunately had become impossible. Illustrations of the most beautiful rescued works appear in the almanac of the Gazette des Ardennes 1918.

²) One example was offered in the case of the Castle of Nogent and several smaller country-residences in its neighbourhood. In the case of Folembay, a hunting castle in the middle of a glorious park, (in which the owner, Count

As the result of our withdrawal to the Siegfried line, the front approached considerably nearer to the solitary, towering hill of Laon and its cathedral. The town, which had accommodated the army headquarters in its old prefecture and up till then had been almost completely spared, now came within the range of the French guns. In the German press, however, the damages to the town have at times been exaggerated: in spite of the occasional bombardments, the life went on as usual, the inhabitants have neither had to live in cellars for any length of time, nor yet, as elsewhere, had to altogether leave their town. The preservation of art, however, entered upon a new stage. It meant a great advance when the supreme authorities, recognising this change, appointed an art-specialist from the army. The archæologist, Georg Weise (Tübingen), whom the zeal of the scholar had again attracted to the western front after being severely wounded, had long begun an assiduous activity in the Aisne district, which was at first of an archæological and architectural nature. His accurate knowledge of the country and his indefatigable energy fell to the benefit of the rescue-work, whose service he entered in 1917. He gained an expert co-worker for the town of Laon in the person of Georg Haupt (Posen). I allow him to speak in his own words: —

"In the summer of 1917, I was commissioned by the headquarters of the 7th army with the carrying out of an art-specialist's work in its district. Previously, during the years 1916/17, I had visited, place for place, the art-monuments of the whole district. Thereby it had been possible to record through numerous photos the number of monuments in the zone of Chemin des Dames before they were destroyed.

As we reckoned with the withdrawal of our positions even as early as the spring of 1917, the art-works which were thereby threatened had to be removed into safety. Under instructions from the Army Headquarters, the different army groups handed in lists of those works whose rescue came into consideration. These lists were compiled according to the reports of the local commanding authorities; they were examined by me at the place itself and were at the same time extended according to the results of my former visits. Many works which were distributed over the country could thus be rescued, such as the relics of mediæval sculpture from the churches at Veslud and Vivaise near Laon, a painting in the church at Mons-en-Laonnois, etc. The more valuable contents of the archæological collection at Delvincourt were removed from Crécy-sur-Serre, and also part of a private collection at Fourdrain, near Laon. Numerous objects mentioned in the lists of the local military authorities proved to be of too inferior a quality for their removal to come into question.

The question of the safety of the works of art in Laon came into the foreground through the changed position, arising out of the successful French advance to Pinon and Fort Malmaison and the evacuation of the Chemin des Dames. By order of the Army Headquarters, the works of art in Laon were to be rescued without delay. On the basis of a list which had been compiled by Professor Haupt, the more valuable paintings and other objects of the museum were packed under the supervision of the members of the local museum commission. Added to these were all the paintings of the Berthauld Collection and a number of pieces of antique furniture, belonging to the same owner. In order to safeguard also the valuable works of art in private possession, it was several times announced to the inhabitants through the mayor that all objects, upon whose safety any worth was laid, should be reported for transport to the local military authorities. After a careful sorting the following things were transported together with others:

- Paintings and furniture, the property of Mme. Turquin,
- Plastic works and old prints, the property of the Archiprêtre M. Marchand,
- Tapestries belonging to M. Carrière,
- Paintings belonging to the mayor, etc. . . .

All these works were sent to the Valenciennes museum under the escort of local persons. The *incunabula* of the municipal library (the manuscripts had already been removed), several cases of

Brigode, himself, lived up till the last possible moment), the staff which was quartered in the castle lent their utmost assistance in preserving, by suitable local measures, from bombardment and pillage the works he could not take with him. It is to be hoped that just the owners of castles who have personally experienced the German occupation will not withhold their experiences. Much misunderstanding could thereby be cleared away, and the worthlessness of much French judgment exposed.

things rescued from the castle of Pinon, and the tapestries of the cathedral were also included. Precautions were taken for those works which were unsuited for removal, in that the cellar in the house of M. Berthauld was allotted by the local headquarters for the accommodation of private art-works, to which entrance was forbidden. The museum commission were to protect the works of minor value in the museum by transferring them to cellars, for which purpose the local authorities had promised all possible assistance. The important archives of the Palais de Justice were removed with the assistance of the military authorities to the basement of the Banque Lefèvre; the selection was made by inhabitants of the town. The cellar of the Mairie was proposed as a refuge for the municipal archives.

The preservation of the old glass-windows¹⁾ of the cathedral presented a special task, but unfortunately, nothing could be done for their rescue. Once before, in the autumn of 1917, scaffolding had been erected for taking them down, but both scaffolding and boxes had been used as fuel by the troops before the work had begun. On account of the limited accommodation in the town, the cathedral had to be used occasionally as concentration quarters and also as a hospital. Then, in the summer of 1918, with the renewed approach of the front, it was not possible to take down the windows on account of the lack of time, suitable workmen and the necessary means of transport.

Professor Lehner had proposed the taking down and removal²⁾ also of the large Orpheus mosaic at Blanzly-les-Fismes, which filled a wall in the upper room of the town library. The question of its preservation was again considered on the basis of Professor Lehner's suggestions to the Quartermaster-General after consultation with local specialists. The taking down proved to be impossible with the limited resources available, and it was not possible to procure experts from Germany in consequence of the bombardment of the town which had begun in the meantime and through the new restrictions concerning the entrance of civilians into the town. There remained only the possibility of protecting the work with sand-bags. But this means had also to be abandoned upon the advice of the town-architect, M. Marquiset, as the weak floor of the upper hall of the museum could not bear such a weight.

Amongst the more important monuments, only the church of St. Martin, which received two shots, suffered through the bombardment of the town in the spring of 1918. One of the shots damaged the vestry, the other struck the hall at the western end of the upper part of the wall of the nave. Opportunity was given to those members of the population who came into account, of carrying out the necessary clearing-up and of removing the more important remnants of the destroyed wainscoting, etc., to the cellars of the cathedral. At the same time, the town-architect, M. Marquiset, was consulted as to the best measures that could be taken against any impending collapse of the western vault of the nave and as to whether any danger threatened the sculptures of the portal. It was deemed sufficient, and in fact the only practicable means, to protect the two medieval tombs near the portal by a stone covering.

Assistance was also offered in the summer of 1918, when a request was made from the mayoral bureau upon the advice of M. Marquiset, for precautionary measures to be adopted. This was partly rendered necessary through the circumstance that the war had interrupted the work of restoration which had been in progress in the transept and the centre, and partly through the removal of a portion of the roof and the eaves, which had been confiscated as reserve metal. It was arranged with the etape authorities that this work should be carried out by available local workmen under the supervision of M. Marquiset. At the same time, substitute piping, etc. was requested. Unfortunately the procuring of the material was delayed by the military events of June and July, so that the planned work could not be begun before the surrender of the town."

This report of Herr Weise shows how he everywhere tried to secure the assistance of the inhabitants. That this succeeded more in Laon than elsewhere is explained by the fact that the authoritative persons had remained in the town. Senator Ermant proved to be a mayor, who, more far-seeing and objective than many of his colleagues, always showed understanding for our protective work and,

¹⁾ The choir-windows are meant, which even during the 19th century had received not unimportant additions.

²⁾ Under commission from the Archaeological Institute, Professor Dr. Lehner (Bonn), visited the west front in order to stimulate the protection of archaeological monuments.

as a man possessing a high sense of responsibility, also met us with that natural degree of trust which is customary in the service of science.

At the time of the evacuation of La Fère, which our withdrawal to the Siegfried line had made necessary, the town itself, upon the suggestion of the commanding authorities, had attended independently to the packing of its valuable property, especially the more important paintings in the small Musée Aboville. Upon my visit to the town I found the work already completed. Very little private property had been removed. Unfortunately, it turned out afterwards that most of the frames of the paintings, probably because they seemed of small value, had been left behind.

Noyon, the pearl of the Picardi, in spite of its proximity to the front, remained almost untouched up till the spring of 1917. Many precious works had been removed to this town and entrusted to the mayor; certainly, in the depot in the Town Hall order and attendance were lacking. Upon our retreat in 1917, this jewel of a picturesque town, with its cathedral and the fascinating silence of its patrician houses, fell undamaged into the hands of the French. This fact explains why no removal was carried out, either in Noyon or in Ham; both towns lay so far from our new front that a bombardment would scarcely come into consideration.

The pitiable destruction of Noyon, as is well-known, is a work of the French, who in the spring of 1918 were expelled for the second time from the town. During our visit after our offensive, we scarcely found anything worth saving in the completely dead town, except the small chapter library in the miraculously saved old frame-work house adjoining the cathedral. Even the removal of these library books was at first impossible on account of the limited means of transport; the measures which the expert of the 18th Army, the archæologist Peter Goessler (Stuttgart), had prepared, have only been partially executed; as is known, the counter-attack wrested the town from us again. It was natural to assume that the French would have found time during the whole year 1917/18 to remove everything that was valuable through their own safety-service. But this was apparently not the case. All the more gratifying is it, that amongst a consignment of ecclesiastical robes out of the cathedral which our clergy at the front had brought back to Maubeuge in April 1918 and given into the custody of the Doyen of the church, was included the celebrated gospel of Morienval.

The town of St. Quentin formed a kind of projecting bulwark in the Siegfried position, its western and southern surroundings, so richly set with country-houses and villages, became the glacis of our position. The evacuation of the whole zone at the beginning of 1917 presented a task of extreme importance for the preservation of monuments. That which is really self-evident, but which in passing judgment is so easily overlooked, must again be repeated here: the plans of the supreme military authorities were not confided to those representing the interests of art any sooner than to others; they had to carry out their work at the last moment before and after the evacuation, during weeks when not only the population, but also the army, with its infinitely complicated machinery, had to move. It is superfluous to discuss now whether it might not have been possible to remove treasures such as the pastels of La Tour at the beginning of the war. It is a fact that the municipal authorities refused to allow the La Tour collection to be sent to Paris in 1914, and again at the beginning of 1917, strongly protested against a removal. It is further a fact that one would never expose just pastels to the roughness of such a journey without urgent necessity, as it is a much greater risk for them than for pictures which have a better binding-substance. Therefore now that serious threatening of the town had become inevitable, nothing remained but to risk their removal with the available means.

The superintendent of the whole enterprise, Detlev Freiherr von Hadeln, who had been employed as specialist in the 2nd army, since December 1916, describes how this was effected and how the first rescue-museum at the western front arose out of these saved treasures, in the following words:

"It was to be foreseen what fate the enemy artillery would impose upon St. Quentin after the withdrawal of our line to the environs of the town, and therefore the army authorities ordered the protection of the valuable municipal art-property in time.

The work was begun with the most important things: the unique collection of pastels by La Tour was transferred to Maubeuge with the greatest possible caution. The fear that such sensitive works of art as the pastels might suffer from the jolting on the journey was fortunately not realised. Un-

changed, just as they had been taken down from the walls of the Musée Lécuyer at St. Quentin, the paintings arrived at Maubeuge. After the rescue of the La Tour Collection, were packed the remaining contents of the Lécuyer museum, in whose lower rooms were accumulated in unpleasant over-abundance, pictures, engravings, miniatures, bronzes, ivory carvings, and the most varied small specimens of industrial art. Some pieces in this mass only possessed an inferior art-value, but it seemed advisable not to apply a too rigorous or merely artistic standard, but rather to consider as well, things of local historical value and family interest, and so a good three quarters of this collection was removed into safety.

After this the rescue work in the Law Court was begun. Here also was accommodated a municipal collection, the so-called Fervaques museum: again paintings, works of the most varied branches of industrial art, an entomological collection of high scientific value and finally, the Town library. In this case the paintings were of such different merit and partly so large that a somewhat stricter selection had to be made, more especially as there was the pressure of time. Approximately, fifty paintings and drawings were packed, as well as a great number of faïences, porcelain, gobelins, furniture, and lastly the already mentioned entomological collection. In the library, a selection had to be made from the approximately 30,000 volumes. This was determined according to the standpoint of French interests; together with a large number of precious old prints, were selected the Quentin local literature, further sources of French history, a large number of chronicles and memoirs, works of French historians, and the complete editions of the French classics.



Museum at Maubeuge. French Masters of the 14th century
Marble statue of St. Quintinus in the Cathedral of St. Quentin



Room in the Museum at Maubeuge with pictures by M. Q. de La Tour and Rococo Furniture

How justified, yes even how necessary, these measures were, was soon shown by the enemy. Already on April 3, 1917, during the rescue-work, the Law Courts received their first full-shot. On the following day the Lécuyer museum was damaged by a shell. To-day both buildings are only heaps of ruins. Besides the museums there was also the care for the art-works in the Basilica of St. Quentin, more especially the priceless stained glass of several windows. The supreme military authorities called an experienced technician from Germany, who with equal care and rapidity immediately took out the early Gothic windows of the Chapel of St. Mary, then the best preserved large figures of the Saints out of the high choir, as well as the two large Renaissance windows (representing the Catherine and Barbara legends) in the north part of the second transept. The most important pieces of sculpture of the Basilica were removed to Maubeuge simultaneously with this stained glass.

During Easter, the English and French bombardment of the town had become so violent that the rescue work had to be given up. One should not omit to mention that sappers of a division quartered in St. Quentin took advantage of quiet hours to continue the taking down of the old glass windows, which was successfully accomplished.

Although only an outline is here sketched of all that was done for the protection of public art-property by order of the army authorities, it must be briefly added that the French inhabitants of St. Quentin and the neighbourhood were readily assisted to save objects of artistic worth and at the request of the owners, a very considerable amount of private art-property was also rescued.

The question now arose as to how the saved works were to be best accommodated. One could not proceed here summarily. The stained glass, which had to be divided into their separate parts, would undoubtedly be best preserved surrounded by straw in their cases. To take them out would have been an unnecessary exposure to the danger of breaking or loosening of their old lead mountings, unnecessary,



La Tour, Portrait Study of the singer Manelli

because a reconstruction and erection of the window, which in some cases was more than 10 m. high could not be thought of in Maubeuge.

It was otherwise with the paintings. They had to be taken out of their cases as soon as possible, more especially as the dangers of such a storing just for the pastels of La Tour had already been demonstrated, in August 1914 for example the French administrators of the collection had deemed it advisable to pack the paintings of La Tour in cases and remove them to the museum cellar; when, at German suggestion, the pictures were again exhibited after three months absence, marked patches of mould showed themselves upon the surface of several pastels, which under the combined effect of light and dry air certainly disappeared, but the traces have remained visible and will scarcely ever totally vanish.

The pastels of La Tour were therefore removed from their cases immediately after their arrival in Maubeuge, and now the problem was to find a room which would satisfy all the justified demands of conservation as well as public exhibition. This appeared to be desirable chiefly in order to dispel

unjustified French suspicion, but also to provide German soldiers with an opportunity of noble recreation.

The etape authorities placed the former ware-house "Au pauvre Diable", on the chief square, at our disposal for this purpose. Certain favourable advantages were here offered; comparative security through its isolated position and also satisfactory light conditions in the inner rooms. It was no easy task to transform this somewhat dilapidated "Pauvre Diable" into a small trim museum. Lieutenant d. R. Keller fulfilled this task very successfully within a few weeks. With the simplest means he transformed the defects of the building, its corners, the unusual lowness of the ceilings, into advantages and created an atmosphere for the exhibited art works (in particular for the pastels of La Tour) the delicacy of which harmonized with the special nature of these works. Whoever visits this small museum to-day, will certainly regard the division and the assigning of the rooms as something self-evident:

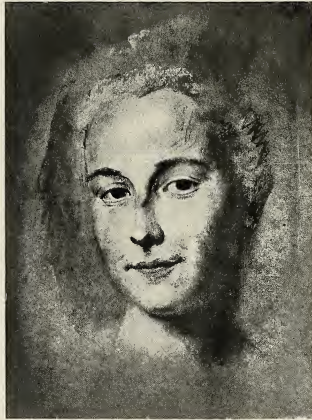


Museum at Maubeuge, Pink Room

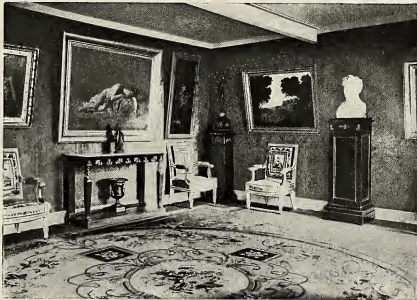
one example may be mentioned, the space and colour effects of the pink, white, and green rooms on the upper floor, as showing how a single sale-room of extremely awkward proportions was converted into three splendid rooms, through the simple insertion of two partitions. The alterations and neat furnishings were accomplished by German soldiers.

That the pictures of La Tour belong to rooms of moderate dimensions and only there can fully produce their own special effect is quite evident. They are conceived and created for intimate appreciation in private rooms and not as far-visible decorations in large halls. Neither are they to be regarded as works of art in themselves, but rather as parts, even if the finest, of a choicely-rich house-furnishing. The exhibition of the pastels at St. Quentin was immeasurably dull and monotonous, disadvantageous for the pictures themselves and fatiguing for the spectator. There they hung, uniform and compressed, along-side and above one another, regardless as to whether they were expressed in bold scarlet or dainty white, whether in full cobalt or a delicately shimmering mother-of-pearl, picture after picture, they hung upon the monotonous dark-brown background. In Maubeuge, it was attempted to express better the individuality of the different pictures. They were hung more freely, their colour scheme was considered as far as possible with regard to the variegated wall-papers, and as far as was admissible we aimed at emphasising the special character of the pictures.

The idea of placing several pieces of sculpture and furniture in galleries, to avoid the danger of rigid monotony, is not original. At first it was carried out in the Kaiser-Friedrich, Museum in Berlin. For a number of reasons it was advisable to follow this example; almost 80 pastels from one hand, even when the hand is that of a great artist, must very quickly fatigue the visitor, unless variety is offered him here and there. It was also necessary to consider the special nature of the pastels of La



La Tour, Portrait Study of the dancer Camargo



Museum at Maubeuge, Empire Room

Tour, which as has already been said require the atmosphere of a splendidly furnished dwelling. Finally very many pieces of furniture, public and private property, were rescued which in themselves, as products of industrial art, were worthy of exhibition. This refers especially to the Empire furnishings, the property of the Duke of Vicenza in the castle of Caulaincourt. The narrow limits of the exhibition rooms only admitted of showing the best and most valuable works, in addition to the La Tour pastels, some other good paintings and sculpture from the St. Quentin museums, the museum at Péronne, and from private possessions. The numerically greater part of the saved works was stored, the pictures were hung up to dry and air in a special manner, the numerous small specimens of industrial art, however, were left in their boxes, where they were best protected against any damage.⁽¹⁾



French 11th century Baptismal font from Vermand (removed to Maubeuge)

Up to the time of the retreat of 1917 St. Quentin was frequently visited by aviators, but otherwise the town remained undamaged since the advance had come to a standstill. It therefore became a natural place of refuge for rescued property out of the fighting territory. Up till 1916 one had removed to St. Quentin pictures and literary treasures from Manancourt and other castles and the sacred vessels out of numerous churches; the first were delivered to the museum, the last to the arch-priest of the Basilica. Whilst heavy fire lay on Péronne during the battle on the Somme, German troops attempted to rescue what it was still possible to save from the small and not unimportant museum. These remnants

¹⁾ From the preface to the catalogue: Das Museum "Au pauvre Diable" zu Maubeuge. Ausstellung der aus St. Quentin und Umgebung geretteten Kunstwerke. Im Auftrage eines Armee-Oberkommandos herausgegeben von D. Freiherr von Hadeln, Lt. d. R. Stuttgart. Verlag von Julius Hoffmann. 1917.

were also sent to St. Quentin. Not all the things were taken with us at the time of the removal to Maubeuge; what was without value or had considerably depreciated was excluded, as our means of transport were very limited and otherwise the saving of that which was more important would have been endangered¹⁾.

It was difficult to decide what should be done with the early historical finds in the St. Quentin museum. Their transport was considered, but finally abandoned upon the advice of the conservator Eck (the venerable director of the museum) who especially in this department, as expert and collector, was well informed and who urgently advised against the removal. M. Eck himself, who on account of his advanced age and illness had asked to be excused from attending during the work, would have been the only one who could have packed them faultlessly and without endangering the sequence of the group. As his services were not available and he himself estimated the scientific and material value of this part of the collections as slight, a removal of the extremely fragile pieces was given up in favour of other works²⁾. Unfortunately, when the rescue work was to be again resumed in summer, the destruction of the building was so complete that nothing more was to be found.

To our special satisfaction the difficult task of taking down the glorious windows in the cathedral, which even German experts shortly before had considered impracticable, was accomplished at the last moment. When one learns that in addition almost all the really antique sculpture was removed, one may well say that the rescue of movable works of art, at least from public collections, was extended as far as was really possible under the tragic circumstances. The French (I am naturally not thinking of the inhabitants of the unfortunate town) wilfully suppress, even to-day, the name of St. Quentin in their complaints about their destroyed cathedrals and towns. They are very probably conscious that it could cause inconvenient comparisons which would weaken the high-sounding phrases about German love of destruction and French protection of art.

When recently, in March 1919, I again saw the Maubeuge museum, which is still preserved with slight changes and was still open for visitors, every German word and German reminiscence had been obliterated with extreme care; no French or American visitor could conceive the dangerous idea that Germans had arranged these rooms, had brought the massive Romanesque baptismal font from Vermand and had reconstructed it, had removed the furniture, tapestries, pictures, bronzes, and porcelain from the war-zone and had built up everything in a spirit of love and with a taste which even the "Journal des Débats" had once acknowledged³⁾.

To-day it seems as if the French have issued instructions that a German achievement is under no circumstances to be mentioned and when such is unavoidable, then only the eventual blemishes and defects were to be pointed out.⁴⁾ Is it necessary for a victorious nation to adopt such means?

¹⁾ The intention of the German troops deserves only the highest praise and one may justly ask whether the French, under similar conditions, would have attended to the treasures of our museums. But the execution of the work had to suffer in that everything was done in haste, probably even at night-time, and neither suitable packing material nor experienced workmen for loading were available. An accurately planned selection was also impossible, one obviously took those paintings, sculptures, plaster-casts, faiences, books, and coins, which were nearest to hand. This case proved that supervision by specialists and that a minimum of time and quiet is indispensable for such rescue work. Unfortunately the German precautionary measures were taken too late in the case of Péronne, where the misfortune broke upon the town so suddenly and unexpectedly. My first journey to the second army, which I visited immediately after my first arrival at the general headquarters, took place at the end of October 1916, therefore at a time when this rescue work had already been finished for several weeks.

²⁾ Later we were repeatedly faced with this problem even in Lille, but were convinced, however, through personal observation and the experience of local experts, that the transport would involve the greatest risk for the works, which could comparatively easily be stored in the cellar.

³⁾ On the occasion of the opening of the museum, an article of Herbert Hoffmann in the "Woche" was reprinted with the following addition: „ce musée occupe, sur la place du Marché, une ancienne boutique dont la transformation fait le plus grand honneur aux hommes de goût, qui l'ont aménagée.“

⁴⁾ It was astonishing with what zeal the pastels in Maubeuge were examined for injuries during our negotiations on March 1, 1919; in several cases it was really crowned with success and it was a relief, when Paul Vitry finally uttered the words: „Eh bien, nous avons trouvé quelques petites dégradations, mais en somme, peu de chose!“ If the several blisters in the paper are really transport damages, which is not at all certain, will one then on the French side really find the courage to make demands for compensation for them? Where would the 88 pastels have been

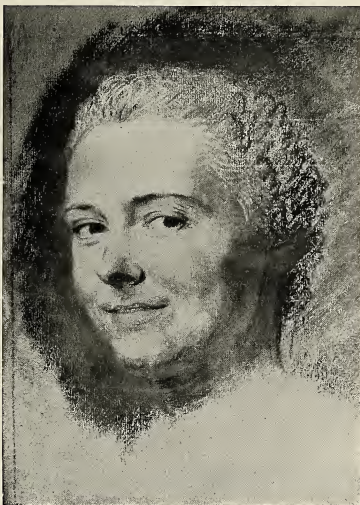


La Tour, Study of a Head

The last section of the French front was by far the most important and richest for art. Of the three towns, Lille, Douai and Cambrai, the first, with its sister towns Roubaix and Tourcoing, was almost permanently in the operation zone; up till our offensive in 1918, it lay constantly in the range

to-day if we had yielded to the protest of the municipal authorities and had left them in St. Quentin? — The following wireless message, intended for America, issued on March 12, 1919 from Lyons, is too typical of the spirit with which the press just now treats our work, to be passed over: "France receives again the art treasures which were stolen by the Germans. The museums in Brussels in which the Germans had accommodated the contents of the boats, which they had laden with the stolen articles from the museums and castles of northern France, are gradually emptied of these treasures. The 'Temps' receives the information that Lille has just received three goods-trucks of pictures which had been stolen from the Town museum, two waggons were full of various articles which had been stolen from the neighbourhood of Laon or from the town itself, and that these have been sent to this town. Ten further waggons were unloaded in Valenciennes and the cases which they contained were deposited in the vaults of the museum. The contents of these cases will soon be examined in the presence of German delegates and the delegates of the French Government. These contents include as well as rare and precious objects, the most valuable manuscripts out of the museums and archives of northern France, further the carved wood medaillons which were stolen from the church of St. George, the bells which were stolen from the Town Hall in Cambrai, as well as some magnificent furniture belonging to the Prince of Monaco, the Marquis of Havrincourt and some other wealthy residents of that district.

The paintings and statues which have been stolen from the museums of Douai, Valenciennes, and Lille, will soon be sent back from Brussels."



La Tour, Madame Dangeville

of the enemy artillery. Its museum, the best and most well-known of all in the French provinces, suffered considerable damages to the building, during the battles in 1914. The director Théodore was able to remove the greater part of the pictures in good time from the upper story. As the result of an explosion in 1916, the cabinets in one of the halls toppled over through the air-pressure, whereby a considerable number of faïences and porcelain were destroyed.

The scarcity of material during the war allowed only of a temporary repair of the building, in which the military authorities of Lille supported the director as far as lay within their power. Half of the upper story remained unserviceable; an exhibition of the many excellent paintings in any case had to be given up owing to the proximity to the front: only the inferior works were distributed in a few rooms.

Such was the condition when I arrived at the end of 1916. It is clear that the question whether and how we should here intervene had to be very seriously considered.

No one, and least of all a museum official, would willingly undertake the transport of such treasures. The material, the experienced people, the many means of safeguarding the transport, which were at one's disposal in peace-time, were almost totally lacking. The local officials, the director and the civil authorities, opposed each change of place, on account of the fact that the Allies up till now had always spared Lille, at least the inner city, and further because according to their conception they were obliged to oppose a removal for whose consequences they might later on be held responsible to the State¹⁾.

¹⁾ The town is not the owner but only the permanent trustee of the state for a large number of the paintings. Also the director is a state official.



Part of the central room of the salvage museum, Valenciennes

Therefore for us there was simply the question: Are the works of art in the Lille museum sufficiently protected against the dangers of war for the present and for the future? For the moment the question might be affirmed, although the storing of the paintings on the cold stone floor of the basement did not grant sufficient protection against dampness and has indeed harmed some pictures. But what would happen should a change of war circumstances take place? The cellar which was completely damp did not come into question for a lengthy storage of the pictures¹⁾.

According to military opinion a single shot out of a heavy gun or even the splinters of a shell exploding in front of the windows could cause awful devastation amongst the closely packed pictures and drawings in the basement. Only when an attack upon the town had been completely removed from the realm of possibilities could the further remaining of the pictures be guaranteed. Judging by their customary actions, it could not be assumed for certain that the Allies would spare the town-quarter. St. Quentin and later instances such as Noyon spoke against it. Should one however quietly wait for a change in the war position? To effect a transport such as that in Lille, in a short space of time,

was altogether impossible. Should the Allies through a fortunate rush bring the town right into the foremost line, so that the city would become the bulwark of our defence and the scene of heavy fighting, then every possibility of removing precious works of art would disappear. And does one really believe that the French and history have acquitted us from the responsibility for the museum?

As a result of these considerations the commander-in-chief of the 6th army, in the spring of 1917, decided that the present condition could no longer be justified and that the most valuable part of the museum was to be transferred, for its own safety, to Valenciennes, which lay much further back.

The execution of the command took considerable time; at the beginning I was personally in charge, then my colleagues, Detlev Freiherr von Hadeln and Adolf Feulner, who were active as art-experts in the 6th army.

The unique collection of drawings by old masters, which the museum possessed in the Wicar collection, was brought in its entirety as the first transport to Valenciennes. Four hundred paintings gradually followed them, whereby naturally the Flemish and Dutch masters of the 17th century, which constituted the strength of the collection, were given the preference, whilst only a small selection of the modern paintings were included. Although our transport means were extremely limited, the removal took place without accident, with a single unimportant exception. It was originally intended that the collection of plastic works and old works of industrial art, which had been placed in the basement, should remain permanently in Lille, as it would be comparatively easy to remove them into safety into the building itself in case of a bombardment. Nevertheless in 1918 a selection of the works was sent to Valenciennes and Brussels.

¹⁾ A small part of the cellars is to be excluded from this; the works of art, amongst others the well-known Italian wax bust of a girl, which were deposited there, have therefore been allowed to remain in this place for the time of the war.



The Italian Gallery in the salvage museum at Valenciennes

Room of Delacroix in the salvage museum at Valenciennes

As is well-known, during the last battles, the town of Lille was spared the fate of a second bombardment and the inhabitants an evacuation. How justified our precautions were was proved by the fate of the towns Cambrai and Douai. In Douai, especially, in 1917 the inhabitants regarded an inclusion of the town into the fighting-zone as impossible. Our offer, made shortly after the battles near Arras on April 9, 1917, to remove all valuable private art-property to Valenciennes and give it into the charge of the local museum authorities did not meet with any approval. It seemed as if distrust of the German intentions had been circulated from some source.

As the result of the military decision, a small number of pictures, a few plastic and industrial-art works and later a number of ethnographical objects selected by Dr. Foy (Cologne), were successively removed from the museum to Valenciennes. The importance of the collection in Douai does not quite coincide with its extraordinary extent, for which even the spacious building with its three wings seemed to be inadequate. Also for another reason, however, one could limit oneself to the most important works; in contrast to Lille the cellar-vaults which were under the oldest part of the building provided a large number of dry and heatable storage rooms, where in addition to the contents of the museum also various private property could be accommodated. For the stone monuments which were difficult to move, in particular the figured tomb-slabs in the basement, protection was provided by encasing them.

A number of protective measures for works in the churches (protection of a marble tomb by Allegrain, and the taking down of decorative wood-carvings of an organ platform) were recommended to the town, which however neglected the execution of them. The most important and representative monument of old national painting, the nine-fold altar of Jean Bellegambe in the Abbey Anchin, whose scattered parts the collector Dr. Escallier in the 19th century had gathered and bequeathed to Notre Dame, was ineffectively placed in the vestry of this entirely modernized building; the warmly heated room had affected the wing panels. A work of this value could not remain for very long in the cellar of the museum, where at the beginning it had been deposited. In August 1917 it was sent to Valenciennes, where it could be exhibited and permanently guarded.

Thus the protection of works of art in Douai was to the last almost exclusively restricted to public property. In Cambrai the position was somewhat different. In 1916/17 Hermann Burg had worked there, partly as art-specialist to the first army, partly in another position, and had occupied himself with the art-history of the town and thereby convinced many a prominent citizen of the expediency of better precautionary measures¹⁾. In the quite unimportant museum at Cambrai there was very little to protect (the best preserved fragments of the old cathedral, so barbarously destroyed during the revolution, are in the Lille collection); there was much more in some of the private residences.

¹⁾ The building of protective masonry and the execution of other precautionary measures in the churches at Cambrai were also due to the initiative of Dr. Burg.

Certainly, here also as long as the danger was not immediately imminent, the owners who were still present did not wish to part with their things. It was not until the beginning of November 1917 that the sudden attack of the English, which approached almost to the gates of the town, the constantly increasing military occupation of the houses and also some incidents during the confiscation of metal, created a situation in which one listened more to our warnings and advice. Nevertheless, one cannot speak of a systematic and comprehensive rescue of the valuable private property. Although therefore no eminent works of art would have been saved from ruin, nevertheless a great quantity of the characteristic wealth of private houses, such as good furniture, beautiful standing-clocks, etchings, tapestries, and various family valuables could have been preserved intact. We who were charged with the protection of art very often offered our assistance in the matter¹⁾. The transport itself from either town was not difficult. Finally however, when the moment arrived that each one wished to remove his possessions into safety, it was too late: Conveyances, roads, and workmen began to fail, scarcely the most essential could be achieved and the merely desirable had to be left undone.

In September 1918 it became necessary to clear both Cambrai and Douai of their inhabitants in a few days (and without time for preparations as was the case in St. Quentin). It is obvious that at such a time the authorities in charge of the protection of such a mass of monuments — unless they had considerable transport means and workmen of their own — have to allow this overtaking disaster to run its course, quite powerless to check it. An official assistance with heavy vans was impossible during this compulsory retreat. We had to be happy that we could enter the towns at all through the aid of the managing formations who had charge of the collecting of important war material. That Hermann Burg succeeded in those days in removing a number of vans full of private property to Valenciennes and a barge load from the Douai museum to Blaton under the most difficult circumstances was more than could really be expected under such conditions²⁾.

One might ask whether it would not have been better to have abandoned all rescue work at this advanced hour and to have limited ourselves to a strict guarding of the public buildings till the withdrawal of our troops. That is only right in theory. Practically it is an impossibility to thoroughly protect by guards the valuables in a city deserted by its inhabitants. The retreat after more than four years of war, the consciousness of the preponderance of the pursuing enemy and many other factors which I need not here describe, could not fail to exercise an effect upon the discipline of the troops. Also in Douai the museum was protected by guards, but finally, when the bombardment became more violent, these were no longer able nor willing to forbid entrance to each unauthorized person. One must not forget that it is very difficult to make the simple soldier comprehend the meaning of such protection at a time when the destruction by enemy fire is beginning, and it is impossible to effectually fight against the fires which are breaking out in the town. Therefore also in quieter times we have never left a doubt to the French that only a timely removal of works could offer a guarantee against the threatening dangers of an evacuation. It was but right that also now everything that was humanly possible should be attempted in order to save just those objects which would easily awaken covetousness.

The centre of refuge for the whole of the northern part of the French front was Valenciennes. Suitable rooms, the greater number of which were gradually placed at our disposal, were found in the museum on the Boulevard Watteau which was opened in 1908 and was situated freely at the edge of the inner town; a considerable improvement was effected by paving the floor and installing electric light. French attendants were here also present and were increased by trustworthy workmen for unloading, packing out, and moving. The town administration and their representative, the conservator

¹⁾ Chiefly, of course, Dr. Burg, who was present in the town. I myself also had an opportunity in May 1917, of explaining to the deputy mayor, in the presence of a large number of members of the town council, the principles and intentions of our protection of art and of offering them the assistance of the army for the removal of their valuable property.

²⁾ Also the art specialist of the 17. army, Herr Stoecklein, who only shortly before had taken up his post, tried to save art property which was still in the museum at Douai. By his order, the painter and collector Goetz loaded still another barge, under the greatest hindrances, with which he arrived in Brussels on November 11, after a journey of more than four weeks. There was nothing very valuable amongst the works.



Phylacterium. School of the Maas, about 1180, Lille

Bauchond and the archivist Hénault, assisted in all the work, more especially in compiling the lists, and attended to the guarding of the building. The supreme superintendence and control of the comprehensive organization had to remain in German hands, on account of the correspondence with the military authorities and the numerous German visitors. Hermann Burg, who after the transfer of the 1st army to the Champagne had been appointed art specialist in the 2nd army, established himself in Valenciennes from the spring of 1917 and attended to the administrative duties under the supreme supervision of the Etappeninspektion and the chief of the civil administration, Geh. Oberregierungsrat Dr. Busse. The increase in art property soon became so great that the museum building had to be relieved. Special depots were established in the town for the numerous official and legal documents which had been sent here by the army administration from the Somme district, as well as for the church vessels without any art value; for private property the neighbouring Jeanne d'Arc Chapel was utilised.

In addition to the collection of pictures the basement of the museum had to accommodate extensive treasures of manuscripts and old prints. In passing, it may be mentioned that the rescue of manuscripts and incunabula from the public libraries of the towns close to the front was planned from the beginning. The most precious and important collections, which were chiefly supplied from the secularised monasteries in the neighbourhood, are in Laon, Cambrai, Douai and in Valenciennes itself. Gradually they were all concentrated in the Valenciennes museum. On German suggestion, the town of Cambrai had ordered its collection to be packed in zinc-lined cases as early as 1916. At the beginning only a selection of the works from Douai was sent to Valenciennes, the remainder was forwarded upon the evacuation in September 1918.

It was not possible to carry out the rescue of all valuable literary collections. In St. Quentin and Cambrai at least a selection was removed. In addition a number of private libraries, especially out of castles, were partially or completely saved. It is certain that considerable losses are to be deplored in this department. The scarcity of material and facilities for storage and transport in themselves set inexorably narrow limits upon the salvage work and so we had to aim at saving as completely as possible at least the manuscripts and incunabula¹⁾.

The value of the rescued paintings, tapestries and sculptures accumulated in Valenciennes, soon suggested an exhibition of the best in the museum rooms, and in the course of 1917 this plan was

¹⁾ The dispatch of a special library expert which had been suggested in April 1915 by the Prussian Kultusminister, was refused by the Quartermaster-General after the armies had almost unanimously denied the necessity of it.



The Museum at Valenciennes (Town side)

realised. At the beginning of the war the local authorities had removed all the eminent pictures of their own collection into the basement. In the spring of 1917 Generalleutnant Franke, who was then Etappen-Inspekteur, suggested that these treasures should again be rendered accessible. A cellar offers a certain protection against danger, for example from air-bombs, when it has a strong vault or a large number of stories above it¹⁾. Added to this is the advantage that the exhibition of the pictures in well-lit rooms allowed a quite different control, a survey of the whole stock, and protection against injury, than was possible when they were closely compressed in low store rooms with artificial lighting.

Since the large and valuable transports had arrived from Lille and other places, there were also ideal reasons. The public exhibition of just the most beautiful works of art from northern France would most effectively dispel the suspicions which were constantly attached to the intentions of the military administration. Furthermore it must tend to awaken an interest for the work of rescue and a pleasure at the success of this peaceful war-work amongst the many visitors from the German army.

We were not mistaken in this last respect. The interest amongst the members of the army was unusually great even during the months when the exhibition was not completed. It increased up till the end and it is only regrettable that the printing of the richly illustrated catalogue and guide-book which had been decided upon by the army authorities at the end of the year was delayed until July 1918 owing to troublesome difficulties in the procuring of paper, together with other war-needs²⁾.

That an effect was also produced upon the French is proved in the report of M. Bouchond in *Journal des Débats* on October 20, 1918³⁾. The calm report, free from all exaggerations and distortions,

¹⁾ In Metz an air-bomb pierced the upper floors of the town museum and exploded in the dwelling of the custodian in the basement. The damage inflicted in the basement was considerable, whilst above it was slight.

²⁾ *Kunstwerke aus dem besetzten Nordfrankreich, ausgestellt im Museum zu Valenciennes, herausgegeben vom Armee-Oberkommando II.* Bearbeitet von Theodor Demmler, in Verbindung mit Adolf Feulner und Hermann Burg. München 1918. Verlag F. Bruckmann A.-G.

³⁾ Les œuvres d'art des collections publiques et particulières du Département du Nord qui pendant longtemps avaient été déposées au musée de Valenciennes, se trouvent maintenant en sécurité à Bruxelles, partie au palais de justice, partie au musée de Cinquantenaire, partie aux archives de l'État. Elles ont été confiées par l'autorité allemande au gouvernement belge sous la direction de M. Fiérens-Gévært, le savant administrateur des musées royaux, et nous croyons savoir qu'il se prépare, dans la capitale amie, une exposition des principales œuvres.



Wooden figure of the Madonna
Northern French, about 1300, Douai



Stone figure of St. Catherine
Northern French, end of the 14th century, Lille

C'est en octobre 1916 que les Allemands commencèrent à confier à la ville de Valenciennes des objets d'art et nous reçûmes alors une collection de tableaux et de pendules appartenant à Mme la marquise d'Aoust de Saint-Léger qui nous furent envoyés après expertise de M. Rauch, professeur d'histoire de l'art à l'Université de Giessen. Depuis ce moment, les envois furent très fréquents et nous pouvons citer parmi les principaux les collections particulières de M. le marquis d'Havrincourt, de M. le comte de Franqueville à Bourlon, de S. A. le prince de Monaco, dont nous reçûmes les magnifiques tapisseries du château de Marchais; les tableaux et sculptures des musées de Lille, Cambrai, Douai, La Fère; les manuscrits et incunables des bibliothèques de Cambrai, Douai, Laon. Il nous fut adressé aussi des sculptures de monuments, notamment les merveilleuses pierres romanes de l'abbaye d'Honnecourt, soigneusement démontées.

Nous parvenaient aussi de nombreux objets d'église: vases sacrés, calices, ostensoirs... , en particulier une série de pièces en vermeil trouvées à Croisilles en creusant une tranchée, comme aussi les caisses de minutes de notaires et d'archives, de communes.

Le tout fut d'abord placé dans les sous-sols du musée des Beaux-Arts, puis, ceux-ci devenant trop exigus, les objets d'église furent confiés à M. le doyen de Saint-Géry et les archives transportées dans un magasin voisin.

Chaque envoi faisait l'objet d'un reçu remis à la commandanture et dont un double nous restait, reçu signé par le maire et par moi, attribuant le dépôt à la ville avec obligation de le restituer après la guerre aux ayants droit.

En mai 1917, un conservateur allemand, le docteur Burg, qui eut aussi pour mission la désignation des objets d'art anciens et artistiques en bronze et cuivre, fut placé à la direction de ces dépôts, et en même temps l'autorité occupante décidait d'exposer les plus belles œuvres d'art tant de Valenciennes que des autres villes du Nord, dans les salles du musée. L'ordre fut donné en ce sens par le général commandant d'étape que M. M. Hénault, archiviste de la ville et moi conservâmes nos fonctions comme par le passé, mais notre rôle se borna alors à surveiller les œuvres déposées et en faire l'inventaire.

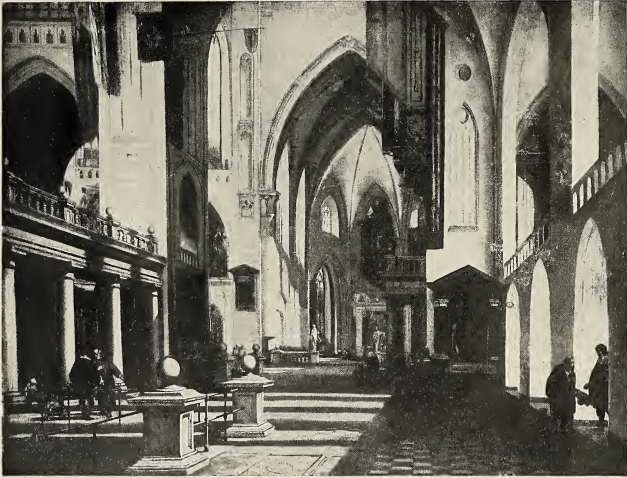
On comprend sans peine l'éclat d'un musée qui renfermait alors, outre l'apport Valenciennes, les richesses artistiques du Nord occupé: Les Rubens, les Jordaens, les van Dyck, les Boilly, les Goya, les Corot, les bois gothiques,



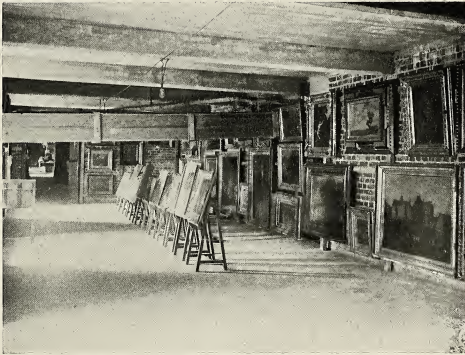
Augustus and the Sibyl. Tapestry, about 1500, from the Lille museum



Archives and manuscripts in the storage-rooms of the salvage museum, Valenciennes



De Witte, Church interior, from the La Fère museum



Part of the storage rooms of the salvage museum, Valenciennes



Watteau, The sculptor Pater. Valenciennes

les dessins du legs Wicar, du musée de Lille, les Bellegambe du musée de l'église Notre Dame de Douai ; les tapisseries du prince de Monaco et du comte de Franqueville. Aussi fut-il très visité et très admiré.

En septembre 1918 parut un catalogue heureusement édité et abondamment illustré, dû à la collaboration du docteur Demmler de Berlin, du docteur Feulner de Munich, du docteur Burg de Vienne, mais quelques exemplaires seulement furent mis en vente.

La victoire des armées alliées se précipitait avec éclat. Les villes de Cambrai et de Douai étaient évacuées, on sentait l'approche des événements graves à Valenciennes.

Les principales collections publiques et privées de Cambrai nous avaient déjà été envoyées depuis plusieurs mois. Le docteur Burg ramena encore de cette ville, à ce moment, plusieurs camions automobiles de tableaux.

Le 11 septembre, l'autorité allemande réunit les représentants des villes de Douai, Cambrai, Valenciennes et fit pressentir les risques que pouvaient courir les œuvres d'art concentrées ici. Elle offrait de les envoyer à Bruxelles, mais dans le cas seulement où une demande lui en serait adressée.

Après mûre réflexion cette demande fut faite. Les tableaux furent décrochés, les manuscrits emballés, les sculptures, les faïences, les porcelaines mises en caisses et le tout sous notre surveillance fut expédié en plusieurs bateaux sur Bruxelles où un ou deux représentants des villes devaient administrer le dépôt.

M. Hénault et moi venions de surveiller les derniers départs quand le 10 octobre, l'évacuation générale et forcée de la ville fut ordonnée, évacuation qui ne devint facultative que le 15 octobre, à la suite d'un nouvel ordre, alors que la majeure partie de la population avait déjà quitté Valenciennes.

Nos musées, comme bâtiments, tant celui de la Place Verte que celui de l'hôtel de ville, ont beaucoup souffert du bombardement. Nous espérons que des réfections rapides permettront de le reconstituer sans trop tarder. — Journal des Débats on October 20, 1918.



Donvé, Self-portrait. From the Lille museum

of this man who had been a witness of our work in the Valenciennes museum for two years, is perhaps an indication that reason and equity will gain a hearing also in France and finally silence the feelings which were recently expressed in the wireless message quoted on page 88.

I must refrain here from a total description of the museum which offered much stimulus also to the scientific visitor through its union of scattered and partially almost inaccessible works. In spite of the fact that the greater part of the Carpeaux collection and the almost immovable large plaster-casts in the centre cupola hall had to be left behind, it was nevertheless possible with a rich selection from the museums and private collections of northern France, together with the best pictures from Valenciennes to produce a harmonious whole¹⁾. One gained a survey over the important period of art history in French Flanders, over the favoured collecting-grounds of the art connoisseur and finally over the manifold branches of the salvage work itself. The wealth of the castles, whose value has probably been somewhat over-estimated by some, was here grandly represented by the beautiful carpets from Marchais, Arrancy and Bournonville, which gave the severe middle room a warm festive colour. The few pieces of large church-sculpture, amongst which the Romanesque portal sculptures from Honne-

¹⁾ In arranging the exhibition, Dr. Freiherr von Hadeln had a great share together with the editors of the catalogue. A brief description was attempted in the almanac of the Gazette des Ardennes 1918, in Velhagen and Klasings Monatsheften (an article which was written in July 1918 and without my fault first appeared in the November number, at a time, therefore, when all the treasures of the Valenciennes Museum had been taken away).



Isenbrandt (?), Holy Family. Marquise d'Aoust

court was an especially successful piece of salvage work, reminded one of the enormous losses which the store of monuments throughout the country had sustained through the revolution; the magnificent combination of the large Flemish works from Lille and Valenciennes provided surroundings for the glorious altar-piece of St. Stephen by Rubens, nobler than any it had previously had. The almost complete absence of the important French painters since Manet might have surprised German visitors, for it invited comparisons with the collections in the German provincial towns, in which these masters have long found a home such as exists in the French provinces only in a few private collections. One did not completely dispense with furniture, although the sumptuous rooms tolerated it much less than the small improvised rooms in Maubeuge.

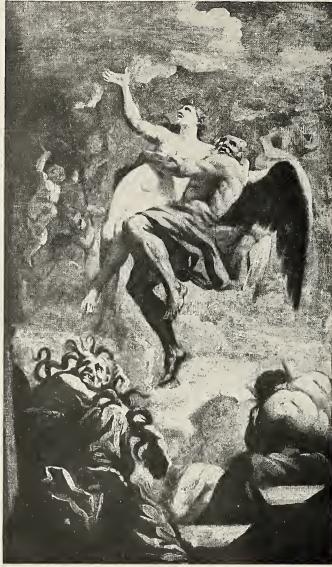
We had hoped to be able to hand over all our rescue depots to the French after the war. But just the greatest of them, Valenciennes, ultimately met with a hard and painful war-fate. In the summer of 1918 the air-attacks upon the town increased. Several bombs fell in dangerous proximity to the museum. Nevertheless no damage was caused. It might only be a question of unfortunate accident. Nevertheless the problem arose as to whether we could allow this accumulation of irreplaceable works to remain here. An important voice at home requested the transference of the museum¹⁾.

¹⁾ Communication (June 14, 1918) from the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften to the Chief of the General-Staff of the field-army. The answer (July 4) of the Quarter-master General has the following text:



School of Andrea Verocchio, Maria with the infant Jesus, from the Lille museum

"The communication of June 14, 1918 addressed to the chief of the General-Staff of the field-army was handed to me for my decision. I regret that I am not able to satisfy the wish to transfer those works of art which are stored in Valenciennes to another place. There is scarcely any other town in the occupied part of France more suitable than Valenciennes. A German scholar who travelled through the occupied territory in the spring of this year suggested just Valenciennes for this purpose as well as for the accommodation of art-treasures which are at present stored in other towns. Therefore only the removal of the works to some place outside the occupied part of France could come into consideration; there are however important objections to such an act. The removal of French art-treasures to places outside occupied French territory has already been the subject of detailed negotiations with the local authorities. Thereby it was justly pointed out that in enemy and neutral countries it would not be believed that this measure was for the purpose of preserving the art-works but that it would be interpreted as an intention to appropriate or retain them as pawns. It is also to be feared that such a measure would not only provide a cause for undesirable outbursts about German barbarism, but would very probably lead to measures of retaliation from the hostile countries. A temporary removal of works of art to Germany has actually already caused embittered press reports in France. In addition to this the guarantee had to be given to the owners of the works of art brought to Valenciennes that the works would remain in France. A further removal would therefore only be possible with their sanction. For these reasons I am not able to comply with the request contained in your communication. I take the opportunity of mentioning that the air-attacks upon Valenciennes have lately decreased and also that their target has previously chiefly been the neighbourhood of the station."



Poussin, Sketch to the painting in the Louvre, from the Lille museum

That the Quarter-master General rejected the proposal after careful examination was the consequence of those principles which had been formulated in February 1917, principles which by reasons of political and legal considerations forbade the removal of art-treasures from France, although this was desirable from the military standpoint. The condition of actual necessity which could have compelled the abandoning of these principles was not present or not yet present we say to-day. At that time, however, our offensive was in fortunate progress and the hope of a still further advance which prevailed throughout the whole army, justified the expectation that just in Valenciennes the danger of air-attacks had passed its critical point.

It happened otherwise, however. Not air-attacks, but the change in the whole military situation, which had been heralded since the middle of July, had finally caused dangers for Valenciennes of which we had no idea at that time. At the end of August when one could still reckon with a maintaining of the Hindenburg line, preparations were ordered for a removal of the things, and on September 29, their transport to Brussels was commanded after the representatives of the towns themselves had made a request to this effect. In the meantime, events had changed the position in Valenciennes with fatal suddenness. The army-boundaries changed, the new officials were just moving to places far to the rear; but still worse was the fact that during the process of loading the works, which Hermann Burg had begun, the town had to be evacuated by the greater portion of its inhabitants, so that the already



Delacroix, Portrait of M. Bellinger, from the Douai museum

over-hurried work had to suffer from an abnormal dearth of labour and conveyances. Nevertheless it was possible to place almost the total contents of the museum, partly packed, partly unpacked, on barges, which began its journey up the canal at the last moment in the second week of October¹).

The misfortunes were not yet at an end. The barge-journey (owing to overcrowding it was not possible to use the railway) should have taken nine days. The war events in themselves hindered the traffic on the water-ways to the utmost, so that one often had to wait for days at the locks, and had to reckon more than once with the probability of a complete stoppage²). Two barges arrived in Brussels on October 22, the last one arrived on November 12! In the meantime, on November 10, revolutionary movements had begun in Brussels which led to street-fighting between Germans and Belgians. The work of unloading came to a standstill. The German officials³) who had been commissioned to deliver the works of art to the Belgian museum authorities in Brussels, were not able to complete their work. It was especially impossible to make out an accurate inventory of the works, as this would have taken at least two or three weeks. In the meanwhile the armistice had been signed, and it was impossible for Germans to remain any longer in Brussels. An assembly was therefore held on November 14, at which were present on the French side several representatives of evacuated towns, then in Brussels, M. Fiérens-Gevaert, Secretary-General of the Royal museums, representing the Belgian museum admini-

¹) This cargo which was checked after the arrival of the things in Brussels, included 796 cases with manuscripts, books and small museum specimens, 753 cases of private property, as well as the following unpacked objects: 1992 paintings, 365 framed drawings (Wicar Collection), 327 pieces of sculpture, 152 framed and more than 2000 unframed etchings, wood-cuts, etc. and 66 other works.

²) The route led either down the Schelde via Ghent or along the Dender via Ath; at Dendermonde the direction towards Brussels was taken. The route via Charleroi would have necessitated an unloading en route, with all its disadvantages; at the time of leaving the route via Ath seemed the safest. During the long journey, however, the fighting approached near: and nearer.

³) In addition to Herr Burg, Herr Feulner and I were present, as well as Herr Gerhard Bersu who represented the German authorities in Brussels.



Houckgeest, Church interior. Marquise d'Aoust

strative bodies and the town of Brussels, and Hermann Burg, representing Germany. The rescued property was handed over to the custody of the Brussels museum and municipal authorities, who undertook to complete the unloading and accommodating (partly in the Law-Courts, partly in the New museum), as well as to make out an accurate index of the works. A representative of the Dutch Embassy was present at the conference.

On February 1 and 6 1919, Burg and I, as commissioners of the German armistice-commission, signed the protocol, concerning the condition and number of rescued works of art in Brussels. The French Government then relieved the German Government of further responsibility for all the works found in Brussels, through their deputies, Paul Vitry for works of art, Gaston Rouvier for books, manuscripts and archives.

When one considers the unfavourable conditions under which this last and most extensive German salvage transport had to take place and which here are only indicated and cannot be described in detail, one may well be content with the result. Naturally it could not be carried out without accidents, resulting from the accumulation of objects, the haste in loading at the place of departure and the emergency nature of all the arrangements. As far as we have yet learned, however, there was no serious loss and no damage which cannot be repaired. During the last battles, the Valenciennes museum was so seriously damaged that to-day the upper story cannot be used; the lower rooms were used as a hospital even during the last part of our removal. One can imagine without any difficulty what the consequences would have been had we not dared the removal of the works.

The other depots (in Metz, Sedan, Charleville, Fourmies, Maubeuge), which certainly cannot be compared in importance with the Valenciennes museum, were handed over to the French in the respective places.

The work of protecting the art-property in northern France has come to an end, but it is not yet liquidated. Many war-losses out of private art-property will only appear in the course of time. During the war, gaps have occurred also in the public collections, but almost exclusively before the commencement of our activity. But in no case are they even approximately of the extent alleged in premature



Veronese. Female Portrait. From the Douai, museum

French press-notices; they cannot in any way be compared with the loss of so many noble church buildings and their ornaments.

I have tried to carefully describe the conditions under which we had to work; — not for the purpose of excusing any possible neglect or mistakes, but in order to allow of a just judgment being formed. The inner history of the war, however, the hopes and disappointments which animated all of us, could not fail to exercise their influence upon our decisions in this domain, which seems to be of such slight and secondary importance compared with the whole universal upheaval. Perhaps we thought too little of the possibility of a retreat, allowed our confidence of victory to be shaken too late. Will one make a charge against us out of this?

It is not difficult to recognize what is necessary for the preservation of art during war. Only radical means can be of permanent assistance: irreplaceable works which are portable must be removed far into the hinterland, where there is no concentrating of troops or danger from air-attacks. The French upon recognizing the seriousness of the problem did not the contents remove of the Louvre immediately to Toulouse without purpose.

Can one, however, adopt these radical means for the protection of art? Its representatives in all countries, even in those where the conditions were incomparably more favourable than with us, were met with military, political and legal hindrances. A compromise with such was necessary, and it had to be brought about by persons not disinterested in the matter, but who felt as members of a nation which was involved in a battle for life or death. This compromise can only give a few rigid binding rules. The chief measures have to be decided upon at the moment and at the place of danger.

Our German rescue service came late for northern France, but not too late for the most important work. Frequently we had to improvise rather than organize; nevertheless the organization did work, not for the gratitude of France nor for German egoism, but for the sake of Art.

VI.

Foreign Judgments on the Preservation of Monuments of Art

By Otto Grautoff

From the very first weeks of the war our enemies have charged us with vandalism in art and have contrasted their own love and enthusiasm for monuments of the past with this general German love for destruction. Belgians, French, and Italians, so it was stated, were the chosen guardians of beauty, their nations the only ones in which reverence for the rich art treasures of the past had taken root; the Government of Republican France was the only one which possessed a sense of responsibility towards national works of art.

The Germans, too, know that in the course of the nineteenth century, France has done important and, to a certain extent, exemplary work in the care of memorials. Many years ago, when conditions in this respect were in many ways rather bad with us, Paul Clemen¹⁾, in a special article, referred to the praiseworthy deeds of the «Commission des monuments historiques», which had been founded by the July monarchy.

A comprehensive description of the cultivation of architecture from 1789 up to the present has been given for the first time in «Monuments historiques» by Paul Léon²⁾, a friend of the deceased radical-socialist Under-Secretary of State, Dujardin-Beaumetz, under whose administration he conducted for ten years the superintendence of architecture. Having been an official of a radical-socialist Minister for so many years, Paul Léon should certainly be above suspicion³⁾. His work is based upon an extensive collection of official documents, which have never before been so thoroughly and exhaustively made use of; it is founded upon historical facts and documents which have been interpreted with quiet objectivity and impartiality. From his collection of facts it is evident that France has by no means always distinguished herself by a particularly ideal protection and cultivation of monuments. The author describes in unvarnished form the extensive destructions which were carried out officially during the French Revolution⁴⁾. He states that in the middle of the century, Vitet and Mérimée constantly had to complain of the art vandalism on the part of the municipal authorities, the industrial, state and military officials⁵⁾. He reports that no officials protested against the art purchases made by Americans. The screens of the Troyes Cathedral, the statues «Le Roi de Bourges», «L'Ange du Lude», the whole convent of Mariac, the Maison du Roi of Abbéville, were sold to America. Léon reproaches the art administrators with not having conscientiously repaired the damages caused by the weather to art monuments and with having allowed the Parisian hôtels of the aristocracy to fall into decay; he further coins the pointed phrase: — «Le vandalisme culturel comme le vandalisme administratif a dénaturé l'aspect des églises, en y adossant des bâtiments parasites». He uses sharp words against the chearing of churches in Paris and the provinces⁶⁾, through which many towns have lost their characteristic appearance, and pitilessly exposes the mis-restoration of architectural works, especially under Viollet-le-Duc. A comparison of illustrations of the St. Laurent Church in Paris⁷⁾,

¹⁾ Paul Clemen, Denkmalpflege in Frankreich. Berlin 1898, Ernst and Sohn.

²⁾ Paul Léon, Les monuments historiques; conservation, restauration, avec 268 gravures. Paris, 1917, Henri Laurens.

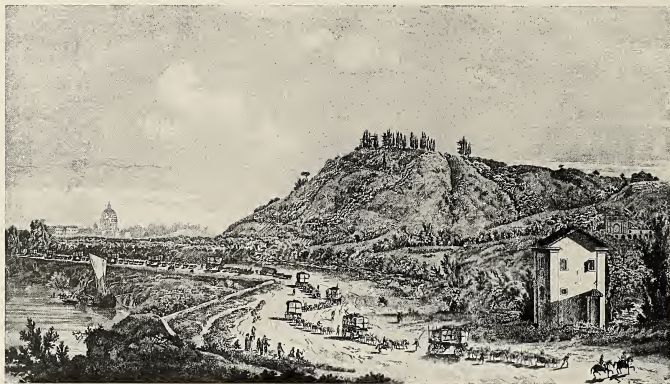
³⁾ The following words taken from the cabinet meeting of 12. III. 1918 (Journal officiel of the 13. III. 1918, p. 885) are of interest as showing the importance of Paul Léon: Claude Cochin... «Répondons à ces ouvrages par des livres collectifs publiés sous le patronage du Gouvernement français et sous la direction d'un homme de goût et de science qui pourrait être M. Paul Léon». Très bien! Très bien!). M. Albert Dalimier... «Je voudrais, d'un mot, affirmer que, dans le passé, des efforts d'organisation ont été faits sous la direction de M. Paul Léon, à qui l'on rendait tout à l'heure un hommage si mérité, non seulement pour la protection des monuments sur le front, mais pour le retrait de toutes les œuvres d'art qui pouvaient être exposées à un danger quelconque et qui ont été ramenées à l'intérieur du pays».

⁴⁾ Paul Léon, Les monuments historiques, etc. pp. 24/38.

⁵⁾ Ibid. pp. 68, 82, 308, 83, 144, 154, 191.

⁶⁾ Ibid. pp. 191/211.

⁷⁾ Ibid. pp. 177/178, 214/215, 256/257, 258/259, 266/267, 336/337.



The removal of works of art taken by the French from Rome, I
From Charles Saunier, *Les conquêtes artistiques de la révolution et de l'empire*. Paris 1902

the Saint-Rémi Church in Reims before and after their restoration, of Notre-Dame in Châlons, of the Quimper Cathedral and of the castle of Pierrefonds, serves indeed as a striking proof of the art vandalism of the French Government. Léon makes bitter complaints against the notorious devastation of the papal palace in Avignon and of the high-handed modern alterations of the hospital in Beaune. A severe judgment of Renan upon the French understanding for art is here justly quoted: — «De nos jours enfin, il semble qu'on s'efforce de détruire jusque'aux vestiges des fondations anciennes, de rendre toute image du passé impossible et de dérouter jusqu'aux souvenirs»¹⁾.

If any German were bold enough to speak similarly, he would be brandmarked as a slanderer. A work of Paul Léon which appeared in 1917, is full of such quotations and in addition, he supports such sayings with historical documents from the French archives, which had not been published up till then. And Paul Léon in no way stands alone. The professor for the history of revolution at the Catholic Institute in Paris, Gustave Gautherot, published a book immediately before the war, «Le vandalisme jacobin. Destructions administratives d'archives, d'objets d'art, de monuments religieux à l'époque révolutionnaire»²⁾, which contains similar conclusions.

In the introduction to his book, Gautherot gives a summary of the destruction of works of art before the Great Revolution, from which it seems apparent that the French nation in former centuries was in no way especially gifted with a feeling for art and its cultivation. This is fully confirmed in the second chapter, in which Gautherot, with the help of historical documents, confirms the guiding lines of the art-policy of 1790. Lameth, Noailles and Montmorency declared that it was an act of glory on the part of the people that they allowed no monuments, which were reminiscent of the ecclesiastical ideals³⁾, to remain. The richly-illustrated book publishes as a first illustration, a repro-

¹⁾ Ibid. p. 320.

²⁾ Paris, 1914. Gabriel Beauchesne. The book has a forerunner in the work of Eugène Despois, «Le vandalisme révolutionnaire, fondations littéraires scientifiques et artistiques de la convention». Paris, 1868. An objection is raised against an overestimating of the services to art which were rendered by the leaders of the Revolution, by Louis Courajod in «Alexandre Lenoir, son journal et le musée des monuments français». Paris, 1878, vol. I.

³⁾ Gautherot, pp. 20, 21, 26, 27, 33, 35; cf. in addition, Charles Saunier «Les conquêtes artistiques de la révolution et de l'empire». Paris, I, 1902. Ernst Steinmann, Raffael im Musée Napoléon, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, 1917, vol. I, p. 8.



The French depart from Venice with the stolen art treasures
From the book by Charles Saunier

duction of a placard dated April 25, 1795, «Cathédrale de Metz à louer». On July 4, 1793, as Gautherot learns from the archives, a commission of artists was formed for the purpose of supervising the destruction of all royal emblems on the different monuments, in order that such destruction might be systematically carried out. "The patriotism of the artists is sufficiently well known. Immediately after the festival they will hasten to knock off these emblems and substitute other ornaments for them."

So stated publicly the officials who were entrusted with the protection of monuments, writes Gautherot. Poirier, together with the painter Gossard, presided, in August 1792, over a commission which conducted the destruction of the royal monuments in Saint-Denis. This same Poirier, who two years before had drawn up a plan for placing all the royal tombs together in Saint-Denis! The paintings of Boucher, Pierre and Vanloo were regarded as too effeminate for the manly spirit of the Republic and therefore a purification of the National museum from the works of these masters was ordered. The «Comité de l'instruction publique» asked the «Comité de salut publique» to arrange that a destruction of works of art should form the chief incident in a national festival. The "Commission des monuments" did not concern itself with the preservation, but rather exclusively with the pillaging of the Sainte Chapelle¹). In the sitting on July 3, 1792, the commission requested Pajou, Mouchy and Boizot to compile a list of the things still remaining in the Sainte Chapelle. Up to the time of the Restoration the Sainte Chapelle was like a headless body, after its steeple-tops had been knocked off. Lasalle caused 782 statues to disappear from 122 streets. Delpesch blotted out 446 statues in 61 streets, Boulanger suggested that in order to hasten this "work of purification", one should allow workmen to proceed simultaneously against the sculptures²). Gautherot describes in detail the destruction of Notre-Dame in Paris³). Varin destroyed on the outside of Notre-Dame, altogether 78 large

¹) Ibid. pp. 99, 103.

²) Ibid. p. 119.

³) Gautherot, pp. 224/239, 268, 345. — Ernst Steinmann, Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, 1917, Nr. 10/12, p. 337.

and 12 small statues, without counting the pillars and parts of the architecture. In the interior, by order of the Monument Commission, altogether 6257 emblems which were reminiscent of the Monarchy were destroyed. The destruction of the Paris Royal memorials during the Revolution corresponds to the destruction of the German Imperial monuments in 1918, in the „liberated“ Alsace. In Reims, 12 churches were put up for auction. The rest were plundered, destroyed or converted into barracks. The flags in the cathedrals were burnt. The remains of Saint Remigius were taken away and buried in a soldier's grave, whilst the Church treasury was plundered. Gautherot writes that similar ravages were committed by the Commune in 1871. It was due only to the sense of duty on the part of the conservators that the Louvre did not perish in flames in 1871.

In spite of all the progress which has been recorded during the third Republic in the cultivation of architecture and the propagation of an interest in art amongst the masses, an ideal standard was by no means reached up to the time before the war. One only needs to look through the review «L'ami des monuments» (edited since 1887 by Charles Normand) for the last decades, in which there is a permanent column under the heading, «Le vandalisme dans les départements» which contains a seemingly endless list and reminds the Central Administrative Board unsparingly of their mistakes, and above all, of their indisputable sins of omission.

In a series of essays in the *Correspondant* of the years 1910 and 1911, Max Doumic under the title «Nos églises en danger»¹⁾ paints a melancholy picture of the neglect of the country churches in France, even during recent years. Doumic's complaints about the Government's lack of care for the ecclesiastical buildings of France are by no means isolated ones. Joseph Péladan²⁾ has raised the same charges against the Government. He writes in his book, «L'art et la guerre»: “One cannot go for three miles over our sacred soil without meeting a masterpiece in stone. Unfortunately the education and instruction in this domain is very defective. The time has not yet come when the masses can grasp the spirit of the classic architects”³⁾, and on the following page: “We went to Nurnberg in order to admire its picturesque charm, but to be frank we did not go to Arras . . . Let us confess penitently that we have not loved Arras well enough . . .”⁴⁾ “All Frenchmen suffer under the invasion of the Germans, but only a few feel the misfortune to architecture, the dishonour to the masterpieces.” Nevertheless one ought to be able to believe that at least the officials possess the feeling for art with which the French journalists credit the whole nation, and that they at least have a feeling of responsibility towards the monuments of their past, which a pride in the works of one's ancestors should give to everyone. But just read how Péladan criticises the little attention which the state and municipal authorities pay to works of art: — “One allows masterpieces in the town to decay, out of fear of accepting the responsibility and out of administrative indecision”. “We are told that the municipal authorities have refused a state subsidy for the rescue of works of art.” Paul Vitry, the Director of the Louvre sculpture department, has criticised in his journals «Musées et monuments» and «Bulletin des musées de France» the inefficiency of the French patronage of art. His bold frankness was at the time especially appreciated in Paris⁵⁾. The radical-socialist senator A. Monis, who was at one time President of the Ministry, stated at the same time: “It is right that we should look after our churches, because the tendency of our time and our ideas has made it very difficult to maintain some of them”⁶⁾. The art critic André Hallays, who for many years published in the *Journal des Débats*, under the title «En Flânant»⁷⁾ essays upon half-forgotten or more or less inaccessible art-monuments of his country, has very often exposed the art vandalism of French civilian and military

¹⁾ *Correspondant*, T. 243, 1911, pp. 900—916. T. 244, 1911, pp. 104, 117. T. 245, 1911, pp. 466—478. T. 247, 1912, pp. 940—952.

²⁾ Joseph Péladan, «L'art et la guerre». Paris 1916, Boccard. Cf. also an earlier work of Péladan, «Nos églises artistiques et historiques». Paris, Fontemoing, 1913.

³⁾ Péladan, p. 322. ⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 272, 273, 323.

⁵⁾ Cf. Réau, *L'Organisation des musées*, p. 15.

⁶⁾ Barrès, *La grande pitié*, p. 412.

⁷⁾ André Hallays, refer especially to: *En Flânant*, Provence, p. 61. *Autour de Paris*, pp. 97—100, 201, 210, 215, 310—311.



The monuments of art and science were paraded in triumph through France.
From the book by Charles Saunier

administrative officials. Above all, however, the French poet, art-scholar and politician Maurice Barrès through his book «*La grande pitié des églises de France*»¹⁾, which has found circulation throughout the whole world, has attracted the attention of all lands to the neglect of French churches. On 25. XI. 1913, Maurice Barrès, in a passionate appeal to the Chamber²⁾, urged the Government to protect France's architecture. He began with the following words: —

“Two years ago the Chamber investigated the critical condition of our churches. Since then the situation has grown considerably worse. And this increase of the danger is solely and alone the result of France's legislation . . . I have compiled a list of 1200 — twelve hundred! — churches, which the parishes, as owners, cannot or will not maintain, although they require immediate repair. This monotonous enumeration of roofs, ceilings, façades, arches, naves, choirs and chapels, which cry out their misery to the world, is one of the most tragic chapters of our country. How many of these churches are to-day nothing more than carcasses left lying, deserted by men. Just travel through several of our provinces! Step after step you will find domes in the course of ruin, entrance to which is forbidden by order of the mayor. Worship has ceased, the church is empty, the priest has left . . . O! sorrowful fate of the churches of France!”

In the same year Barrès³⁾ published a list of country churches which were in the process of decay. It includes 1081 churches, but is still not to be regarded as final. One only needs to compare the system-

¹⁾ Maurice Barrès, *La grande pitié des églises de France*, 37th ed. Paris, Emile Paul, 1914.

²⁾ In this session Deputy Beauquier stated: — “As God is almighty, he must see to it that His churches do not collapse and must repair them Himself. . . . If He does not bring this miracle to pass, He does not wish it to be done, and if He does not wish it, we must bow to His Will.” From Barrès, *La grande pitié*. Up to this time one had only met with this convenient fatalism in Turkey.

³⁾ Maurice Barrès, «*Tableau des églises rurales, qui s'écroulent*». Paris 1913, Poussiéglue, reprinted in Joseph Sauer's “*The Destruction of churches and art-monuments at the West front*”, Freiburg, Herder 1917, pp. 109—128.

atic description which Doumic gives of the four Départements, in order to realise how incompletely Barrès has worked. In many dioceses he has only made verbal enquiries, which guarantee is naturally more than doubtful . . . There are no records at all in the case of some parishes. Just to name one example, I mention the Church of Martinpuich, in the diocese of Arras, whose tower collapsed in 1912. The diocese of Amiens is altogether absent. But in spite of these many gaps the picture is one of most heart-rending decay—a decay, which long before the war, served as a disgrace to France.

Auguste Rodin has also raised stirring complaints against the inefficient official administration of art in France and has made violent charges against the indifference of the republican Government towards their architecture. "Greece", writes Rodin, "has been mutilated, without its pains and wounds bringing dishonour to it. But France has been insulted and slandered. This wonderful stone garment which would have justified France, in the eyes of the future, has been torn to pieces and carried to antiquaries, and this shameful fact neither surprises nor embitters any one . . ."¹⁾

" . . . They (the cathedrals) perished and in them perishes our land, slain and dishonoured by its own sons . . ." "How can one honestly excuse and explain this modern outrage: the neglect of our cathedrals? . . . But worse: their murderers and disfigurements. We are the most unscrupulous executors of our own sentence. Fate is withdrawing from us the great title of honour, because we no longer deserve it, and the climax of our shame is, that it has commissioned us with our own castigation . . ." ". . . Are not the Jews proud of their Bible, the Protestants of their morals, the Moslems of their mosque? Do they not all defend the evidences of their beliefs and history. We, who do not stand up for our cathedrals, are not filled with this devotion. And what would we defend in them? Our weak-sightedness does not allow us to see that they are beautiful or why and how they are so. Are we then more barbarous than the Arabs? They bow in reverence before the memorials of the past. What they can do out of an indifferent spirit, can you not do from a sense of duty, in that the Gothic monuments have been handed down to you? One is afraid to ask: can you not do it out of love and from a joyful heart? . . ."

" . . . The French take up an attitude of hostility towards their treasures of beauty and without anyone crying out against it, they batter and destroy them out of hatred, stupidity or narrow-mindedness, or else they dishonour them under the pretext of wishing to restore them.

(Do not accuse me of having said this before. I would like to repeat it unceasingly as long as the evil lasts)."

"O! how ashamed I am of my country."

Against the vandalism in art during the period of the Revolution the former Bishop of Blois and Convent-deputy Henri Grégoire²⁾ has spoken from the public platform, as well as brought forward in reports, the heaviest charges. His warning voice, however, was lost in space. On May 7, 1796, the Directory sent a communication to Bonaparte, in which they stated: "We ask you, therefore, Citizen-general, to appoint one or more artists to select works of art from all over Italy, and collect and despatch them to Paris"³⁾. Even before this, art-works had been wrongly appropriated from the Rhine districts and Belgium and in a way and manner which caused the Head of the French Department, Herlaurrelle, in 1881, to make the following statement: "Every honourable person would like to blot out these revages from his memory and France them from her history"⁴⁾. On July 2, 1796, Bona-

¹⁾ Rodin, *Les Cathédrales*. Paris, Colin 1914, pp. 7, 9, 43, 44, 81.

²⁾ *Rapport de Henri Grégoire, . . . sur les excès du vandalisme, par un bibliophile normand*. Paris 1897. Cf. further: *Mémoires de Grégoire*, éd. Carnot, Paris 1837, in which in vol. I, p. 346, it is stated: "On m'aurait jeté à bas de la tribune, si j'avais révéleé toutes leurs turpitudes."

³⁾ Frolard, Eugène, *Pèlerinage aux champs de bataille français et d'Italie. De Montenotte au Pont d'Arcole*, 2^{ème} éd. Paris 1893, I 266.

⁴⁾ Piot, Charles, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur les tableaux enlevés à la Belgique en 1794 et restitués en 1815*. Bruxelles 1883.

parte reported from Bologna¹⁾: "The commissions of artists, whom you have sent, are behaving themselves very well and are zealously at work. They have taken:

15	Paintings in	Parma
20	"	" Modena
25	"	" Milan
40	"	" Bologna
10	"	" Ferrara
	together:	110."

In the peace treaty²⁾ of February 19, 1797, Napoleon's art thefts in Rome, which included a hundred paintings, busts, vases and statues, as well as 500 manuscripts from the Vatican collection, were sanctioned. This is not the place to discuss the details of Bonaparte's art thefts; we only wish to recall the facts.

Bonaparte's annexionist art policy in Italy was not approved by all Frenchmen. The French architect Quatremère de Quincy³⁾ forwarded a protest against the plundering of Italian cities to Napoleon. "With an earnestness", writes Ernst Steinmann,⁴⁾ "an honesty, a candour and a warmth, which awaken one's sympathy and admiration, Quatremère urged the already almighty and unconquerable genius of France not to commit against himself and others, against Italy and France, an unatoneable wrong. He begins to speak of a republic in Europe which will be founded upon the arts and sciences and which will make all men brothers." "This happy disposition", writes Quatremère de Quincy, "can not be suffocated, even by the bloody quarrels which mislead the nations into mangling one another. Curses upon those who are so inhuman and foolish as to want to extinguish the holy flame of human love and humanity, which still supports in some mortals a love for art and science."

The protests of Quatremère de Quincy were followed by an appeal from French artists to Bonaparte, which was signed, amongst others, by David, Fontaine, Girodet, Lesueur, Moreau and Robert. But Bonaparte did not allow himself to be diverted from his plundering policy. "A thousand things," so begins the second letter of de Quincy, "have been instrumental in making Italy the greatest museum in Europe." It describes the feelings of responsibility of the Popes, who have interested themselves for centuries in collecting, preserving and restoring the sacred relics of their city. It expresses astonishment that the Popes have not received more support from Europe, which has enjoyed full participation in the blessings of culture, which from Rome had spread over the whole world. "What would one say, however," he cries out, "of a nation, which instead of fostering such efforts, would dare to dry up the source from which the world is fertilised?"

"And more and more urgent, more and more eloquent became the adjurations in his next letters. He implores Minerva and Apollo not to permit this robbery. He insisted that outside of Rome there was no city in the world, which was worthy of being a temple for those holy treasures, which belonged to her just as light belongs to the sun: Rome is a whole world!"

¹⁾ Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}. Paris 1858. T. I, p. 558, No. 710. Louis Réau writes in his book, *L'organisation des musées* p. 25: "Les Musées ne s'enrichissent normalement que par des acquisitions et des donations: mais quelques-uns doivent leurs trésors les plus précieux à la confiscation pure et simple des œuvres d'art. Ce troisième procédé, qui a l'avantage d'être peu onéreux, est aussi le moins recommandable. On sait que la Révolution française, en sécularisant les couvents, mit les Musées et les Bibliothèques en possession d'un nombre considérable de tableaux et de manuscrits. Un peu plus tard, pour enrichir le Louvre, les armées napoléoniennes firent des razzias de tableaux en Italie, en Allemagne et dans les Pays-Bas: grâce à ce pillage organisé, le Musée Napoléon fut pendant quelques années la plus prodigieuse réunion de chefs-d'œuvre, le véritable Musée central de l'Europe. Bien que la majeure partie de ce butin ait été restituée en 1815, la plupart de nos Musées de province, que les Alliés n'eurent pas le temps d'inventorier, en conservent encore des bribes très précieuses. — Les Pérugin de Caen et de Lyon, les Mantegna du Musée de Tours, le beau Rubens du Musée de Grenoble n'ont pas d'autre origine."

²⁾ Correspondance de Napoléon. Vol. I, Nr. 676, p. 529.

³⁾ Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux Arts et à la Science le déplacement des monuments de l'art de l'Italie, etc. . . .

⁴⁾ Ernst Steinmann, *Die Plünderung Roms durch Bonaparte*, Internationale Monatsschrift XI, Vol. 6 and 7, p. 645.

"Protected by the military glory of Bonaparte, supported by the victor's consciousness of his power, the emissaries of the Republic approached their goal without swerving. Decorated with their trico lorcockades, they could be seen walking about the streets of Rome."

Ernst Steinmann, who has newly revised the Italian and French sources dealing with Bonaparte's raids, writes: —

A contemporary of Bonaparte, Thouin¹⁾, who witnessed the plundering of the French in Italy, has left a description of the transport of the stolen art treasures through Italy. "One cannot imagine the sensation which these trains of waggons have aroused," Thouin writes, after having arrived in Livorno with the second train, "Twelve waggons of special construction, all new, painted red, laden with gigantic bales, which were labelled: 'A la République Française, au Ministre des Relations Extérieures,'" went in advance, a thirteenth followed them, which held the enormous cases containing the paintings of Raffael and other Italian masters. Then came four smaller waggons, laden with stores, luggage and a case containing utensils and tools for repairing the waggons, cases and roads. All these waggons were drawn by 120 buffaloes and 60 huge oxen, with powerful horns. Several horses, about 100 Romans, workers, artisans, soldiers and lastly a French commissioner accompanied the train, which moved along slowly, almost a quarter of a mile in length."

When in view of the unrestrained attacks which our enemies have directed against us during the whole of the war, we recall such facts to memory and refer to the fact that the French Revolution caused the destruction of more historical buildings and monuments in France than the wars during three centuries, and when we revive the memory of the whole art-raid policy of Napoleon, this is not done in any pharisaical spirit, but rather with the expectation that friends and foes will be induced, by the consciousness of the art-vandalism of the French, to judge the destruction of art which has taken place during the present war with greater impartiality.

It is far from our intentions to deny or gloss over the destructions caused by the war. They have happened under its stern sway, in the same way as they have happened in all wars, on both sides, before 1914. That which exceeded the proportions of real military destruction, has been committed through the ignorance of the uneducated, in the hysteria of battle or out of need and sometimes out of the psychosis of overwrought persons, whose unfettered instincts sought an outlet. These destructions have been committed by our soldiers, just as they have been committed by the soldiers of all countries. But we must raise a protest against any representation that the whole German nation is one of wanton destroyers, and in addition, is capable of malicious joy in the mere act of demolition. Even though it is in no way necessary for us to have our sentiments attested, still in view of the French calumnies against us we would recall the fact that during the decades and last years before the war, many Frenchmen, amongst them Emilie Bertaux, Jean Chantavoine, Louis Courajod, Pascal Forthuny, Emile Mâle, Louis Réau²⁾, Jacques J. Schnerb, A. Storez³⁾, Léandre Vaillat and others, without national prejudice, have paid their tribute to the love and culture of art in Germany.

"Before the war nobody had in any way noticed that the Germans were barbaric and inhuman," wrote the Neapolitan scholar Benedetto Croce⁴⁾, on October 1, 1915. And Auguste Rodin⁵⁾ stated in November 1914 to an Italian journalist:

"Why does the world anathemise the Germans, just because they have greeted the architecture of a former genius with the coarse language of their shells? The world ought to be aware that long

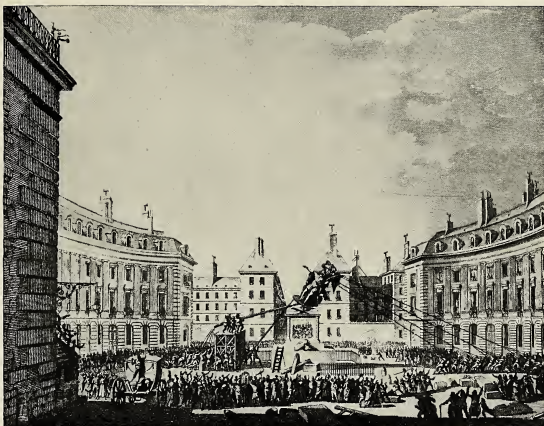
¹⁾ Magasin encyclopédique III, 2 (1797), p. 411—415: Letter to the Directory from Livorno, 28 prairial an 5 (June 16, 1797).

²⁾ Réau, L'organisation des musées. Paris 1909, Léon Cerf. On page 15, Réau writes: "En Allemagne, les directeurs des Musées, mieux recrutés en moyenne, sont presque tous, en même temps que d'excellents administrateurs, des savants de grand mérite, qui savent tirer parti pour leurs travaux du privilège d'une intimité quotidienne avec des chefs-d'œuvre. Ils sont tous préparés par l'enseignement des Universités à faire œuvre scientifique et sont formés aux bonnes méthodes dans les séminaires d'histoire d'art; en un mot ce sont des spécialistes et non des dilettantes."

³⁾ Storez, L'architecture et l'art décoratif en France après la guerre. Paris 1915. The comparison between the German and French cultivation of art is important.

⁴⁾ Messagero (1. X. 1915).

⁵⁾ Berliner Tageblatt (30. XI. 1914).



The pulling-down of the statue of Louis XIV on the Place des Victoires



Jacques Bertaux, Destruction of the statue of Louis XIV, on the Place Vendôme

before this, art had received its death-blow from the philistine, commonplace spirit of the nineteenth century. Nothing, absolutely nothing, was spared. In Brussels, the young King Albert, in order to prove himself a modern person and an opponent to any love for the past, even allowed the old and venerable quarters of the 17th century to be pulled down. Much that was horrible happened long before the war, in Paris, as well as in Venice, Florence and Genoa."

The poet Edmond Haraucourt¹⁾, who has control of the Cluny Museum in Paris, has allowed himself to utter most biting and unrestrained insults against the German aesthetic world. This poet had already been irritated by Germans before the war. German museum officials and scholars have often disturbed him in his poetic work, in order to get information about the magnificent collections in the Cluny Museum. The wrath which these disturbances and the dilemmas which he was sometimes placed in by the questions of the German scholars, caused the poet, he has poured out during the war in vilifications of the German art critics, which by reason of their poetic fire were printed by the whole of the Entente press: — "C'était plaisir, vraiment de travailler avec eux, car ils sont chacun dans sa patrie d'une érudition incomparable; en revanche, ils ignorent tout de ce qui ne rentre point dans leur spécialité, et ils n'en veulent rien savoir . . . Il y a péril à recevoir chez soi, en temps de paix, ces organisateurs d'aggressions et de pillage." For the conclusion of the theatre and novel-writer, Edmond Haraucourt, was that all of these scholars were spies. This "poetic" conception of the profession of German art scholars found many followers in France and was accepted by the whole of the press²⁾. At the beginning of the year 1915, when Bode interested himself in the protection of the Belgian museums, the Gaulois of July 5, 1915, enquired mistrustfully whether this was any guarantee, and Auguste Margillier³⁾ asserted that Bode had already made up a list of those works out of French collections which he purposed transferring to Berlin, amongst them, the Venus de Milo, the Nike of Samothrake, and all the paintings of Titian, Rembrandt, Raffael etc. Of course, there is no truth in the assertion. One can certainly understand the distrust and the apprehension of the French, which however was the result not of the attitude of the German museum officials, but of their own bad conscience. A nation which had supported the art-robbing policy of Louis XIV. and Napoleon, is easily inclined to take for granted that Germany also could produce a man of the type of Mélaç, who burnt the Pfalz and the Heidelberg castle. In October 1914, when an eccentric lover of art, upon his own initiative⁴⁾ and without any hint from the German art critics, compiled a list of works in Belgium which he hoped would have to be surrendered to Germany, Bode⁵⁾ immediately stated publicly that he would have nothing to do with proscriptions, such as existed in the fancy of Mr. Ugo Ojetti for France and were planned by Mr. Emil Schaeffer in the case of Belgium.

Despite this, for the above-mentioned reasons, the French slander of the German care of monuments and protection of museums continued during the war. Our inventory-work in Belgium, in consequence of this distrust and in remembrance of Bonaparte's activities in Italy, was interpreted⁶⁾ as

¹⁾ "Herr Doktor et l'avant-guerre" by Edmond Haraucourt in the Journal (12. XII. 1915).

²⁾ Refer to other journals of 12. XII. 1915. Gazette de Bruxelles, Juin 1916.

³⁾ Mercure de France, Décembre 1915.

⁴⁾ Emil Schaeffer, Kriegsschädigungen in Kunstwerken, Kunst und Künstler, October 1914.

⁵⁾ Bode's statement is as follows: — "My conviction is that all civilised countries must retain the productions of their art and their lawful possession of art-works, and that we must protect monuments in enemy country just as we protect those in our own. A vast accumulation of art works, as is shown in the case of the Louvre and the London museums, produce only an effect of huge art warehouses, which considerably lessens one's enjoyment of the works. On the contrary, just in order to rescue the art works in Belgium for the Belgians, the undersigned applied for the sending of one of our museum officials to Belgium. Geheirat von Falke, under commission from the Governor of Belgium, is for certain zealously co-operating with our military authorities (who in spite of the illegal behaviour of the population, have even before this, anxiously tried, at their own risk, to preserve the monuments in Belgium and France, especially in Reims) in trying to protect the art treasures of Belgium. The efforts of the museum administrators will be to prevent Germany, in case of a victorious ending of the war, from following the example set by England in the carrying-off of the Parthenon marbles and by France, under Napoleon I. in the plundering of art treasures in almost every country in Europe." (Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger 8. X. 1914.)

⁶⁾ Gazette des Beaux-Arts, June 1916, Pet. Journal (1. I. 1918); see Bataille (9. XI. 1918). Populaire du Centre (24. X. 1918).

a preliminary for the carrying off of the art-works, even though several papers had mentioned Bode's denial.

Our organisation for the protection of art monuments and the guarding of public and private art collections in the war-zone was certainly not flawless, just as the French measures, which were only introduced rather late, were not absolutely perfect. Plundering has taken place. Not only our enemies, but also we, have a pressing interest therein that as far as possible all cases of theft and plundering should be cleared up. Armies of millions are not free from doubtful elements; armies of millions, which are composed not only of professional soldiers, but also of all classes and sorts of a nation, cannot be free from those elements which commit unlawful acts. The French army was also pervaded with elements who committed outrages and plundering, as is recorded e. g. in the diary of Lieutenant Roux¹⁾ of the 96th Infantry Regiment, in the diary of an Infantrylieutenant in Frenele la Petite, August 9, 1914²⁾, in the diary of an Infantry lieutenant, August 13, 1914³⁾ and of a hospital attendant in the third ambulance (16th Section) 37th Division, September 4, 1914⁴⁾.

Just as in France in the year 1914, when the German armies were pushing quickly forward, the protection of monuments left much to be desired, because the defence of the country thrust all other considerations into the back-ground, so in the same way the German measures for the protection of museums and monuments from the time of August 1918, were very often interrupted through the pressure of military circumstances and partially could not be resumed. In spite of this, even at such a time which was so hard for the Germans, everything that was possible was done, which is shown e. g. from the report of M. Maurice Bauchond, the conservator of the museum in Valenciennes.

The "Populaire du Centre" of October 24, 1918, wrote in just acknowledgment: "If one considers quite conscientiously the constantly increasing reports of brutality and ravaging which reach one, one concludes that not only German soldiery but all soldiery are to be condemned. The horrors caused through a hostile invasion or occupation cannot be separated from war. In European wars of to-day, in colonial wars of the past, the peoples of all tribes and races have known this cup of bitterness, — so full of ignominy and blood.

Let the nation stand up whose hands have remained unsoiled."

At the beginning of the war the German Kaiser is reported by the foreign press to have stated that the lives of our soldiers were more precious to him than the whole cathedral of Reims. At the time the whole Entente press poured out their indignation against this barbarian, this Hun, and stated scornfully that the German soldiers who seemed to be of greater worth to the Kaiser than French monuments, neither in the past nor present had created works of art which even approximately could hold the balance with the French cathedrals.

Nevertheless, when the Frenchman, Maurice Barrès⁵⁾, likewise at the beginning of the war, made the much stronger utterance: — "I prefer the most unpretentious French infantryman to our masterpieces," the "élan de patriotisme" of Barrès was unanimously glorified by the same press, and even to-day this utterance of the pioneer of the protection of French church architecture is reckoned to his honour.

¹⁾ "Nous pillons en passant la maison d'un fonctionnaire du canal de la Marne au Rhin. Le soir très tard nous arrivons sous une pluie battante à Maizières... Je traîne avec plaisir mes bottes boueuses sur les parquets et les tapis." Aus französischen Kriegstagebüchern, E. S. Mittler, Berlin 1918, p. 19.

²⁾ "Il nous dit qu'en 1870 les Prussiens lui ont moins fait de mal que les Français actuellement. Fressier étouffe la réclamation... Ces brutes fouillaient partout, même dans les cartons à chapeaux... Les rapports allemands que nous avons trouvés dans notre offensive relatent du reste qu'à leur arrivée dans certains pays français tout y était déjà pillé et détruit. Nous en confirmons l'exactitude." Ibid. p. 29.

³⁾ "Mais pourquoi leur avoir laissé donner libre cours à de vrais instincts de brutes et de sauvages, en leur permettant de démolir et de salir tout à leur guise. Si c'est à cela que sont bons les chasseurs avec leur fameux esprit de corps, quelle popularité vont-ils nous valoir dans les pays annexés?" Ibid. p. 31.

⁴⁾ "... Les Français pillent les caves, les fermes, les maisons non habitées, c'est honteux, les meubles brisés, le linge par terre... Enfin tout pêle-mêle; je me demande qu'est ce que cela sera si l'on va en Allemagne." Ibid. p. 33.

⁵⁾ Péladan, L'art et la guerre, p. 258. Cf. also Jean Debrit: — "Quant aux trésors artistiques à épargner, ils nous sont précieux. Mais lequel d'entre eux vaut ce joyau sans prix qu'est une vie humaine?" Revue mensuelle, May 1918.

Not we, but the Belgians and the French, in view of the facts, were first faced with the problem of protecting their architecture. The quick advance of the Germans at the beginning of the war hardly allowed the Belgians and French breathing-space, so that they found no time for the protection of art during the first months of the war. The monuments remained unprotected, the church treasures, museums and private collections were not removed.

However, as soon as the German rush into France came to a standstill and trench-fighting developed, solicitude for the arttreasures in the threatened zones began.

Beyond doubt, much has been done in France for the protection of art monuments in the war territory and threatened zones since 1915¹⁾. One cannot here quote everything in historical order. It is not astonishing that ultimately, in a land that was hard pressed by the enemy, some of the precautionary measures proved to be inadequate and others could not be carried out on account of the difficult conditions.

Least was done for the protection of art monuments in Paris, which since 1915 has slumbered in safety; most was done at the front. At the beginning, just as with us, a centralisation of protective measures was lacking. The leaders of the separate armies acted independently and entrusted the drafting and executing of such measures to architects and art experts. From the middle of 1915, the control of this protection was taken over by the Department for Fine Arts, which was later deprived of its independence by Clemenceau and placed under the Education Department, as the Board for Fine Arts. This taking over of the protection of monuments by the Department, however, was first done under the pressure of public opinion; it had naturally also to work in agreement with the military headquarters in Chantilly.

The actual agreement between both departments for their common task was first arrived at in 1917. The administrative department which was formed by both bodies consisted of three sections, for east, centre and north. The Minister for War provided the subordinate officials and the material, such as ladders, sandbags, trollies, etc.; the Board for Fine Arts selected those artists from amongst the officers in active service, who they thought would be useful. Each army carried portable workshops with it, which made it possible to take down the highest glass windows within 25—30 minutes. All dismantled pieces were immediately catalogued and photographed and then removed in military waggons to a safer zone. There they were packed and removed further back by rail. In several places behind the front workshops were erected, in which urgent repairs could immediately be made. In such a workshop e. g. the marble bust, "L'amour maternel" which had been smashed into 65 pieces in Arras by a shell, was reconstructed. Since the existence of this "Service des recherches et des évacuations" more than 10,000 works of art have been saved the property of churches, museums, municipalities and collectors, in the danger-zone. At the beginning the mayors refused²⁾ to trust themselves to this State assistance, but later the department won the confidence of all concerned.

The most valuable possessions of the small museum in Bailleul, which included a beautiful collection of porcelain and ceramics, several valuable pieces of furniture and tapestry, as well as a painting by Breughel, were removed by this department. The Brussels carpets from the Palais de Justice in Montdidier were also rescued in the same way. Before the entry of the Germans into Lacon in Pas de Calais, the altars, pews and glass windows of the church were removed. It was also possible to get the leaden crucifix in the church in Savignies away, whilst the church was under German fire.

In Amiens, members of the Paris fire-brigades were able to take down the old stained-glass windows in the Cathedral; soldiers were able to remove the 13th century bronze tombs, the statues by Blasset, the altars in the transept and the crucifix of Saint-Sauve. The choir-stalls and the portal sculptures were protected with sand-bags. The architect Félix Bouteux discovered a process, whereby it was possible to detach and roll up the six allegorical wall-paintings, which covered an area of 200

¹⁾ Illustration (8 and 15. VI. 1918, 15. II. 1919).

²⁾ "On assure que les municipalités ont refusé le concours de l'État pour le sauvetage des objets d'art." Péladan, *L'art et la guerre*, p. 273.

square yards, in the Museum. They were stored in the Château de Blois¹⁾. Unfortunately, shortly before the commencement of this rescue-work, one of these paintings, the Allegory of War, was seriously damaged by a German shell. The whole museum has been cleared and the contents removed. Amiens has suffered extensive damage²⁾. The cathedral has been struck seven times. The castle of Bartangles, six miles from Amiens, in which the family of Clermont-Tonnerre preserves uniquely beautiful furniture of the 18th century, was cleared, and even the wonderful entrance-gate of the castle was removed. In the same way all the movable works of art in Saint-Omer and Abbéville have been sent to Southern France. One thought of Calais rather late. All that was still intact in 1917 was packed and sent away, above all, Rodin's "Citizens of Calais" were brought away safely. Even in the middle of May 1917, during the bombardment of Reims, the statues of the Maison des musiciens were saved. Of the building itself, which was an important work of the 13th century, there seems to have remained only heap of ruins. Moreover, numerous newspapers raised complaints about the inadequacy of the precautionary measures in Reims³⁾.

As regards Paris, in the unconcern which the stationary trench warfare called forth, the authorities contented themselves during 1915—1917 with protecting the monuments only against air-attacks⁴⁾. The church portals and the bases of the monuments were masked with sand-bags. Unfortunately, it turned out that this form of protection had a great drawback. It has been proved that the chemical substance of the sand ate into the stone statues. At the end of May 1918, when the heap of sand-bags in front of the chief entrance to "Notre-Dame" began to give way, the head of a statue whose neck had evidently been eaten away by the sand, fell down, and other statues are also said to bear traces of such decomposition. The "Cri de Paris" pointed out about the same time that these safety measures had little sense and were very expensive⁵⁾. An architect calculated that the masking of the base of the Bastille monument cost 100,000 francs and expressed the opinion that the monument itself was not thereby sheltered, nor was the base completely protected and that any eventual repairs would cost at the most only 100,000 francs.

From the end of April 1918, according to all appearances, Parisian circles were exceedingly alarmed at the danger which threatened the monuments of their capital. One read almost daily of conferences held by directors of museums, private collectors, government officials and town councillors⁶⁾. The first important measure they decided upon and carried out was the complete clearance of the Louvre. It is not necessary to point out here the extent and importance of such an undertaking, but in order to bring home to one the extent of this evacuation, I would just mention that the Louvre with its 200,000 square yards area is the biggest building in the world and that it contains many hundreds of thousands of works of art. Just reflect that each Tanagra figure had to be packed separately. Even in peace-time the clearing of the Louvre would have been a gigantic task. The carrying out of it in

¹⁾ Cri de Paris (22. IX. 1918).

²⁾ On 17. V. 1918, La Victoire asked: "Mais lorsque le bombardement se calma, pourquoi n'avoir pas organisé le sauvetage systématique des immenses richesses de ce grand centre?"

³⁾ "On n'avait même pas songé à évacuer les tableaux du musée. Mais ce que l'administration des Beaux-Arts avait négligé durant quarante mois d'essayer, un simple capitaine d'artillerie le fit. Comment le capitaine Linzeler fut-il chargé de cette tâche, je ne saurais exactement vous le dire, mais je crois bien que c'est parce qu'il s'en chargea lui-même." Eclair (25. IV. 1918). Gaulois (23. IV. 1918), Temps (25. IV. 1918), Croix (25. III. 1918), Journal des Débats (24. IV. 1918) expressed themselves similarly.

⁴⁾ Henriot wrote on March 9, 1918, in the Liberté: "Malheureusement en France nous avons la fâcheuse habitude d'essayer les pompes seulement au lendemain des incendies. Si l'on m'avait écouté, tout comme les magnifiques gobelins serait en sûreté."

⁵⁾ The sand-bags around the Vendôme Column and the Arc de Triomphe likewise collapsed, according to the Figaro (8. VI. 1918). The head of the Saint-Pierre statue on the façade of Notre-Dame did not collapse as the result of an air-attack.

⁶⁾ "Sont nommés membres de la commission chargée de rechercher, en vue d'en assurer la conservation ou l'évacuation, les œuvres d'art situées à proximité du front: Le Commandant Velter, chef du service des régions envahies au ministère de la guerre, M. G. Calmes, chef du cabinet du ministère de l'instruction publique, M. J. d'Estournelles de Constant, chef de division à la direction des beaux-arts." (Temps 8. II. 1918).

time of war seems like a miracle¹). Many of the works were stored in the cellars of the museums, whilst others were removed to Southern France, Spain and America²).

Not only the Louvre, but also all the other Paris Museums were cleared. The wall-paintings of the Pantheon, the works of Bonnat, Laurens, Galland, Henry Lévy and Puvis de Chavannes were taken off according to the process of Boutreux, stretched over iron rollers and also despatched to Southern France, Spain, America³) and Switzerland; in the same way the frescoes of Puvis de Chavannes in the Sorbonne and the twenty allegorical paintings in the Library and the six ceiling-paintings in the Throne-Room (all by Delacroix) were removed from the Palais Bourbon. Also private collections were sent away. The Board of Fine Arts divided private collections into three categories:— very urgent, urgent and less urgent⁴).

France's achievements in the domain of art-protection, especially during the last two years of the war, deserve the greatest respect, particularly as they had to be performed under the difficult conditions of hostile occupation and attack.

In the summer of 1916 an exhibition of the rescued art-works and saved portions of destroyed monuments was arranged in the Petit-Palais in Paris; it served at the same time as an incitement of hate against the Germans. Péladan writes about this exhibition: "On aurait cru après l'exposition du Petit-Palais, que l'opinion allait s'émouvoir. Ces œuvres d'art mutilées n'ont pas touché le cœur du public. Il ne comprend que le bibelot et le tableau, il n'aime que l'objet qu'il pourrait acquérir et posséder. Le monument ne le passionne pas, il ignore l'architecture, ses beautés sévères⁵)."

In Italy the organization for the protection of art has likewise achieved everything that was humanly possible. Profiting by the experience of Belgium and France, one thought of the protection of the very numerous and valuable art-treasures immediately upon the outbreak of war. But a uniform organization for this protection did not exist and a quick creation of it could not be thought of on account of the many objects which came into consideration, their manifold differences, their wide distribution all over the country, the absence of trustworthy catalogues, as well as the approaching danger. Therefore, he who felt himself called to the work took charge of what was nearest to him, as far as means and understanding allowed. Gallery and museum directors, superintendents and engineers of Royal institutions, municipalities and single generals as e. g. Dalloio (at whose instigation the protection work in Venice was executed without any delay, at the cost of the War Office), devoted themselves to the work. Corrado Ricci, Director General of Archaeology and the Fine Arts, and Ugo Ojetti earned special praise for their incessant urging for the carrying out of precautionary measures. Numerous difficulties had to be overcome. Above all, the superintendents who were carrying the measures into effect, lacked money and also, on account of the conscription, suitable workmen. Strange to say, there was also resistance to be met from anxious deputies, distrusting mayors and even art-institutions.

¹) Although *Cri de Paris* and other journals have criticised the carrying out of this work, we believe that the inadequacies were due to the enormous extent of the task and not to the bad organisation.

²) In *Figaro* (31. VII. 1919) a list of those monuments and works of art was published, which have been protected by bags of sand and slag, or substituted in the case of windows. Cf. the detailed account of the packing of art-works, *Petit Journal* (5. I. 1919).

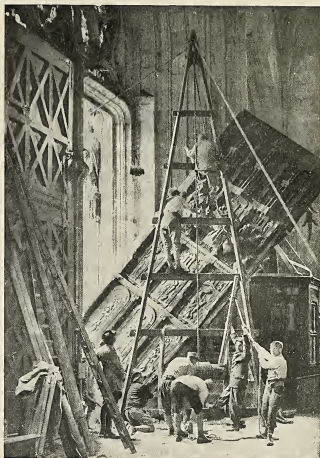
³) That the state, municipal and private art collections have been sent so far away is shown by the following press notice:—"Contrary to a statement of the *Œuvre* (14. XII. 1918) according to which the museums, etc., would be re-opened about the middle of this month, it is announced that the re-opening cannot be expected before July 1919, as a great number of the art treasures are still in Madrid, America, Copenhagen and Geneva, where they are representing French art, without counting those which are stored in Toulouse. At first only the furniture and a portion of the statues and gobelins will be brought back." *Œuvre*, 20. XII. 1918; *Pays*, 18. XII. 1918.

⁴) Apparently a new art commission was appointed in June 1918, judging by the following press notice:—"La commission de l'enseignement et les beaux-arts, réunie hier matin au palais Bourbon, a adopté le rapport de M. Caffort sur la proposition de loi de M. Henry Paté, tendant à décharger de la responsabilité civile les membres de l'enseignement pour les accidents survenus au cours d'exercices physiques. — M. Symian, président de la commission, a ensuite donné lecture d'une communication du ministre de l'instruction publique relative à l'évacuation des objets d'art dans la zone des armées ainsi, que les mesures prises pour l'évacuation des œuvres d'art dans la région de Paris. — *Matin* (14. VI. 1918).

⁵) Péladan, p. 344. See also *Eclair* (25. XI. 1916), *Gaulois* (23. XI. 1916), *Revue hebdomadaire* (2. and 9. XII. 1916), Péladan, *Exposition du germanisme contemporain*, *Illustration* Nr. 384 (25. XI. 1916).



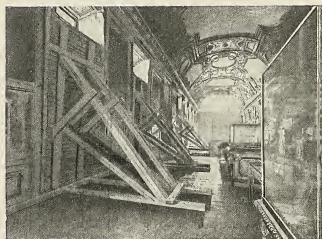
The taking down of the wall-paintings by Puvis de Chavannes in the Amiens museum



Removal of the Renaissance door of the Church of St. Vulfran, at Abbéville



The hall with French paintings of the 19th century in the Louvre



Protection of the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre

When the work had been brought to a state of vigorous progress after considerable trouble and sacrifice, even the Education Department stepped in interferingly.¹⁾

Ojetti devotes a whole volume²⁾ to describing how the pictures were wrapped round wooden rollers and sent away or stored in vaults. Façades, frescoes, mosaics and tombs were blocked up with sand-bags or protected with sea-weed mattresses, whilst statues were surrounded with sand and enclosed in masonry.

The Education Department has published two volumes of the "Bollettino d'Arte", which illustrate very vividly the precautionary measures that were taken. Venice comes first, with its Church of St. Mark and the Palace of the Doges, then follows Padua with the Church of St. Anthony, the monument of Gattamelata and the Santa Maria dell'Arena with its frescoes by Giotto, before which wooden and iron barricades, together with sea-weed mattresses, were placed, and the Church of the Eremitani, with the frescoes of Mantegna. Then comes Verona with the Scaliger tombs, which were enclosed by masonry, thirty inches thick, and covered with steep pyramidal roofs. Then follow Vicenza and Milan, the latter with "The Lord's Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci, which through specially comprehensive measures was also protected against fire.

The report then refers to Bologna and Ravenna, in which latter town the measures taken for the protection of Byzantine architecture and their mosaics assumed quite imposing proportions. Even in Florence, Rome, Bari and Trani precautionary measures were adopted.³⁾

Ojetti devoted special attention to the protection, and where such was unavoidable, to the carrying-off of works of art and science which were found by the Italians on the other side of the frontier in Aquileja, Grado, Görz, Primör. One gains an idea of the extent of this work when one learns that in the first half of 1917 out of Görz alone, the Town Library, the Library of the German High School, the District Library, the Old Provincial Archives, the Library of the Provincial Museum and the State Library, the last of which alone contains 30,000 volumes, were all sent away.

But in Italy, art-destroying tendencies have also made their appearance. The Futurist Marinetti, according to the Temps, March 24, 1916, requested the sale of Italian art treasures. Through the sale of the works in the Uffizi and the Pitti Galleries alone, a whole milliard would be realised. The Americans, for a certainty, would be willing to buy everything. The Italian press discussed the suggestion very animatedly.

It would be but right and just if neutrals and enemies would not deny acknowledgment of our achievements in the protection of art. Such acknowledgment however has not been made. In contrast to the objective statements of Louis Réau⁴⁾ and others made in time of peace, our enemies from the very beginning of the war, have cast aspersions upon the way in which the German civil and military authorities have protected art. The official reports, circulars and books, are all tuned to the following tone: — "The Germans plunder, burn, blow up and demolish all buildings and rob or destroy all movable works of art."

In spite of the very friendly personal relations which existed between the German and French art scholars before the war, and in deliberate misrepresentation of the actual achievements of the

¹⁾ Nuova Antologia Nr. 1100, November 1917: The earliest precautionary measures taken by the Italian administrative authorities (up to the autumn of 1915) have been treated of by Clemen in his "Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz", p. 41.

²⁾ Ugo Ojetti. I monumenti d'Italia e la guerra, Mailand 1917. 140 Illustrations. Also Corrado Ricci, La difesa del patrimonio artistico italiano contro i pericoli. Milano 1917.

³⁾ "Resto del Carlino" (4. XII. 1917). Avvenire d'Italia (3. II. 1918). Corriere della Sera (8. I. 1918).

⁴⁾ On 15. III. 1909 Louis Réau wrote in La Revue de Paris, p. 188: "Les mêmes qualités d'initiative, d'organisation et de méthode qui font la force de l'industrie allemande, se retrouvent dans l'administration de ces Musées impériaux. C'est une exploitation modèle, admirablement gérée selon les principes de la méthode la plus scientifique, avec un souci constant de réformes et de progrès. Tandis que Berlin construit d'innombrables Musées, nous ne sommes même pas capables de déménager les nôtres. Le Louvre attend toujours le déplacement du Ministère des Colonies et du Musée de Marine. Notre Musée d'Art moderne est rélégué depuis plus de vingt ans dans l'orangerie du Sénat. Les admirables collections japonaises du Louvre sont ensevelies dans un entresol ténébreux. Les peintres allemands viennent à Paris apprendre leur métier; nos conservateurs de Musées auraient tout intérêt à s'inspirer des méthodes qui ont donné à Berlin de si admirables résultats."

Germans in the protection of art during the war (which had been made known also to enemy countries through German wireless messages, newspapers reviews, and pamphlets), Auguste Marguillier, in contradiction to his own pre-war statements, writes¹⁾. „A German will never be able to understand that a work of art may be an object of love and not only a matter for catalogues and archaeological treatises. One need only think of the boundless admiration of Germany for her clumsy monstrosities, such as the Cologne Cathedral and the Walhalla at Ratisbon, in order to gain an idea of the German sense of beauty. What cries of horror would Germany have uttered if the treatment which her sons inflicted on our Reims Cathedral had been imposed upon these monuments, in which the German pride glories! Does this disaster of Reims however justify so much ado? The statues can be replaced and then all is well! For the idea of remodelling a mediaeval statue or restoring the “Sourire de Reims” does not frighten P. Clemen²⁾, who, as a typical German archaeologist, would cling to his abominable theories inasmuch as beauty has less value for him than a document. Nor does this comfortable serenity leave him when he talks to us about the Town Hall of Arras and the Halles d'Ypres. This inspector of historical monuments protects himself against our “anachronistic sentimentality” at which he mocks. His tale of the gradual destruction of these two beautiful buildings is but an apathetic record, whose dullness is not relieved by any word of compassion.“

The French, as we see from the above-mentioned statement of Marguillier, were afraid that the Germans, during the occupation, would introduce their horrible taste into any restoration work and plans for re-building. Marius Vachon³⁾ gave expression to this fear in an especially drastic form. We take the liberty of mentioning that Viollet-le-Duc was not a German, but a Frenchman, and of recalling Paul Léon's judgment upon him⁴⁾. We would also refer to Paul Léon's illustrated comparisons between the old and the restored Church of Saint-Laurent in Paris, the Cathedral of Angoulême, the Castle of Pierrefonds, the Church of Surgères, etc., all of which were restored by Viollet-le-Duc⁵⁾.

The hatred of the French intellectual classes for the Germans caused them not only to see a danger in the possibility of the Germans re-building French villages, churches and towns, but also to regard new and old German art as a danger for their land. Saint-Saëns combated German music in a manner which went too far even for the Temps. Henri Lapauze dedicated a special number of his magazine “La Renaissance”⁶⁾ to a campaign against German industrial art (Kunstgewerbe), in which all of those who several years before had bowed in respect before this new German form of art and had obtained an invitation for the German artists to visit Paris — especially Frantz Jourdain — brand-marked the modern German art-industry as contemptible hideousness.

Emile Mâle, the author of “l'art religieux du moyen-âge”, who is highly respected by many German scholars, has written a whole book to prove the inferiority of German art and its dependence on France.

“These barbarians possessed no artistic spirit whatever; they only knew how to destroy. In the art of the middle ages one cannot find a single German element, but on the contrary, Germans took over this mediaeval art, which it boasts of having created, ready-made from Italy and France. Just as the French Romanesque architecture is one of the strongest witnesses for the creative genius

¹⁾ Auguste Marguillier, Sur un plaidoyer allemand. Mercure de France, I. VII. 1916, p. 83.

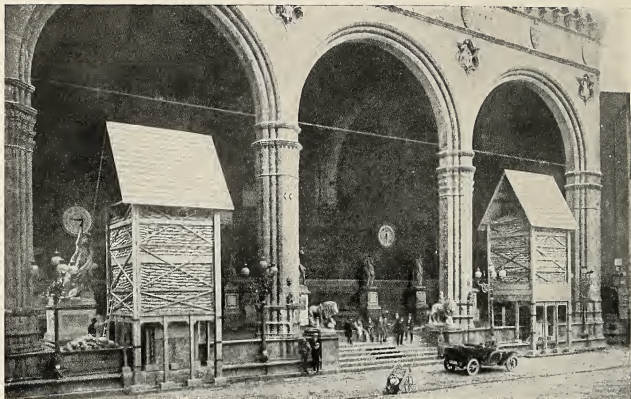
²⁾ Paul Clemen is here accused of something which he never said; on the contrary he said just the opposite and rejected the idea of restoration. Cf. Paul Léon's discrediting judgment upon the French restoration of their architecture in his previously quoted book, p. 245/348.

³⁾ Marius Vachon, Les villes martyres de la France et de la Belgique. Payot, Paris 1915, p. 196. Also see Marius Vachon, La guerre artistique avec l'Allemagne. Paris, Payot, 1916.

⁴⁾ Paul Léon, Les monuments historiques, pp. 245—348: “La restauration de Viollet-le-Duc paraissait aux habitants de Vézelay un véritable scandale.” p. 104.

⁵⁾ Léon, pp. 214/215, 276/277, 292/293, 336/337.

⁶⁾ La Renaissance (15. IX. 1916), with contributions by Arsène Alexandre, Léonce Bénédict, Jacques J. Blanche, Frantz Jourdain and others. Deputy André Lebey is the only one who wrote calmly and objectively. See also Vachon, La guerre artistique avec l'Allemagne, and Cicerone 1917, Nr. 23—24.



Florence. The Loggia dei Lanzi with the protection for the sculptures by Benvenuto Cellini and Giovanni da Bologna

of France, so that of Germany is a clear proof of her creative impotence. On the one side stands a people who have received their creative gifts from Heaven, on the other side a race of imitators¹⁾.

Such theses were championed by Mâle in his book and were proved in a tone of national pride, which biased his capacity for judgment. Not a German, but a Belgian was the first one, and already in 1911, to complain about this chauvinism of the French art-historians²⁾. The German, in his cosmopolitanism, had overlooked such outbreaks before the war. Individual interpretations, like the above, have been less painful to us Germans than the fact of finding such an estimable scholar, whose remarkable knowledge, sound education and synthetic gifts we admired, acting during the war as a public attorney, with a sophistry which might have filled many a Parisian advocate with envy.

But, with a shrug of resignation, we would have passed over this experience and taken up our daily programme, had it not been that at the end of the war, after Fortune had turned in favour of the Entente arms, French journalists, scholars, members of parliament, as well as scientific and political societies, developed the scheme of annexing works of that same German art, which during the war they had condemned as clumsy, lifeless, imitative and inartistic. Is that not rather overdoing the lawyer's tricks? Never has the German art as "art boche" been so insulted or treated with such scorn as it has been by the French during the war. After their victory, however, they demand moveable and immovable works of this hated and — as they say — completely worthless and parasitic art. After Emil Mâle had proved that the mediaeval German architecture and sculpture was but a miserable imitation of the French, André Charles Coppier, in one of the most respected and serious journals of France, the "Revue des deux mondes"³⁾, demanded as part of the war-compensation, the equestrian

¹⁾ Emile Mâle, *L'art allemand et l'art français au moyen-âge*. Colin, Paris 1917. Cf. Emile Mâle, *Studien über die deutsche Kunst*, edited with replies from Paul Clemen, Curt Gerstenberg, Adolf Götze, Cornelius Gurlitt, Arthur Haseloff, Rudolf Kautsch, H. A. Schmid, Joseph Strykowski, Géza Supka, and Oscar Wulff by Otto Grautoff, Leipzig 1917, Klinkhardt & Biermann. This first appeared in the *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* IX, 1916, pp. 387, 429, 1917, pp. 43, 127. The "Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst", XXX, 1917, pp. 47/48, published a reply by Albert Steinmetz.

²⁾ Mesnil, *L'art au nord et au sud des Alpes à l'époque de la renaissance*. Bruxelles et Paris 1911.

³⁾ *Revue des deux mondes* 15. XII. 1918, p. 888—897.

statue of Emperor Conrad in Bamberg, as well as the statues of the founders in the Naumburg and Magdeburg Cathedrals — a demand which seemed to the *Journal des Débats*¹⁾ certainly "rather" doubtful, as the Entente demands for substitution ought to be confined to portable works.

We have shown that the German victories of 1914 tempted single individuals to make unjustified claims and that a powerful opposition was made against such fanciful and illegal demands by no less an authority than Bode. The victory of the French has caused the feeling for art-annexion to develop beyond limits. Thereby the French resume the old tradition of the first Republic and the Napoleonic era.

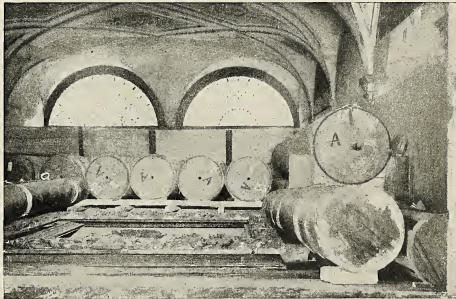
The Musée Napoléon issued 17 official catalogue supplements between 1798 and 1814. One of them includes the booty of the years 1806—1807, amongst which were 400 paintings, 31 statues, bronzes, reliefs, enamels, majolicas and faiences, the greater number of which were illegally taken from Germany and after the fall of Napoleon had to be returned. One cannot blame single Frenchmen for this theft-policy of the first Republic and the first Empire; so many Frenchmen then acted in its sense. Soon after the outbreak of the world-war too many Frenchmen resumed, without any opposition in their country, these old traditions, which offend the spirit of every righteously and justly thinking man.

The first Frenchman in this war to resume this policy of the first Republic and Empire was Auguste Marguillier, the editor of the "*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*" and critic on museum questions for the "*Mercure de France*". Marguillier categorically demanded that the Germans should grant unconditional precedence over all military necessities to the protection of the French monuments and grew indignant at the destruction of each one of them, even when they had no artistic importance, but only a sentimental value²⁾. On June 1st, 1915, he wrote:

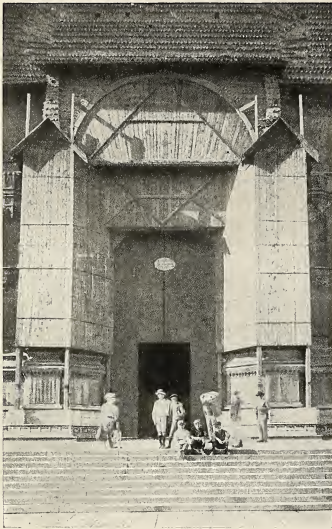
"When we enter Germany as victors, let us pull down the clumsy Germania, which stands at the summit of the Niederwald and roll her down into the Rhine, over which she pretends to watch; let us tear down the mighty Walhalla at Ratisbon, so that it crushes the assembly of Valkyries and Teutonic heroes; let us raze to the ground without regret — or let us demand in the peace-treaty, that they should be demolished — the chief quarters and some of the modern monuments of that ugly capital of snobs, Berlin, the Column of Victory, together with the pompous Siegesallee of ridiculous effigies, Unter den Linden, with the statue of their "Great" Frederick, which one will delegate to the very bottom of some museum, the Leipziger- and the Friedrichstraße, the monument commemorating William I and the foundation of the German Empire, etc.; and if in Munich we inflict the

¹⁾ *Journal des Débats* 17. XII. 1918.

²⁾ *Mercure de France* Nr. 414. Tome CXI. 1. VI. 1915, pp. 361—362.



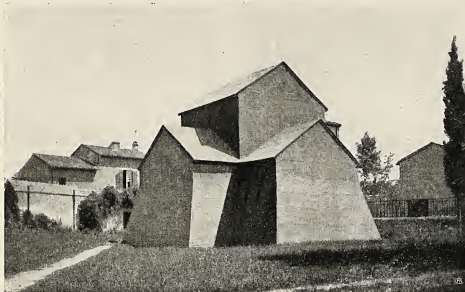
Venice. The large paintings from the Doge's Palace, stored on rollers



Bologna. Building around the portal of San Petronio



Florence. Protection of the Madonna of Cimabue



Ravenna. Protection of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia

same treatment on the "Bavaria" of Schwanthaler and on the neo-Greek rubbish of the Propylaea-quarter, who can complain in the name of art? Further let us make known to Germany that from now on for each work of art which is destroyed or stolen from us — as the Virgin of Herouville, which Bavarian officers have just sent to the National Museum of Munich — we shall take ten from their public collections. Moreover, on the day when the voracious eagle with, beak and talons cut, will be reduced to powerlessness and when we dictate peace-terms to the enemy, it must not only be in territory, in milliards and in economic advantages, but also in works of art — as he has shown himself to be so incapable of understanding and so unworthy of keeping them — that he will have to compensate us for the destruction of our monuments, by ransacking his own museums. In this order of ideas we shall soon see what we may justly claim from Germany and her accomplice, Austria."

On the 1st December, 1915, he resumed the subject:¹⁾ —

"We are happy to see that this idea of receiving compensation in art form, which we formulated here five months ago, takes shape more and more. In one of its recent numbers, the review "La lecture pour tous" took it up and gave somewhat at haphazard a survey of the masterpieces which France and Belgium might claim as a reparation for the losses they have suffered. Guided by historical and scientific considerations which can serve as a basis, let us try to compile a list of the chief works we shall have the right — and let us hope, the firmness — to claim on the day after our victory, as a bonus to our war-indemnity. . . . One should not leave anything to Prussia but its own creations, its museum of the Marches and its Hohenzollern museum, with its unattractive collection of souvenirs of princes of this house. And with regard to William II, he should, under the claim of personal contributions, be deprived of his French collections — paintings, sculpture and furniture — inherited from Frederick II, which people the royal castles of Berlin and Potsdam; thus would return to their native country the 13 Watteaus, amongst them the two pictures, "L'Enseigne de Gersaint" and "L'Embarquement pour Cythère" of which we only possess the sketches, the 37 Paters, the 26 Lancretis, the Pesnes, Chardins, Coypels, Houdons, Adams, Pigalles, the "Louis XIV" of Mignard, Girardon's, "Richelieu" etc., which, if things were endowed with sense, must have keenly suffered under their long exile amongst the barbarians; think of the elegant beauties of "L'Enseigne de Gersaint" confined to the private apartments of the Empress of Germany! — In the same way should return to France from the Berlin Museum, amongst other pieces, the glorious altar-screen, depicting the life of St. Bertin by our Simon Marmion, which Rubens in his admiration offered to buy by covering it with goldpieces, and which Germany acquired through the Prince of Wied, just at the moment when France thought of purchasing it; "L'Etienne Chevalier" of Jean Fouquet (which we might offer to our Belgian friends, to be re-united with the "Virgin" in the Antwerp museum, to which it was formerly attached), four paintings by Poussin, an equal number of Watteau (Les Comédiens Français and Les Comédiens Italiens, Déjeuner en plein air et Réunion dans un Parc); four portraits by Pesne; the "Portrait du banquier Jabach et de sa famille" by le Brun; "Portrait du peintre Jean Forest" by Largillière; "Marie Mancini" by Mignard, — these last works doubly precious to France on account of their historical interest and artistic merit, as is the case with the portraits "Claude de France, fille de Henri II" by Clouet in Munich, "Turenne" (Ph. de Champagne), "Fenelon" (Vivien), "Bourdaloue" (Jouvenet), to which one should add "le Peintre faisant le portrait d'une dame" (Louis le Nain), "les Soldats jouants aux dès" (Valentin), "la Ratisseuse de Navets" (Chardin), and the charming "Jeune femme couchée sur un sofa" (Boucher). — Dresden (which should be treated less rigorously, the Saxon armies not having acquired the bad fame of the Prussian and Bavarian armies) might keep its Poussins, its two exquisite Claude Lorrains and the greater part of its French works (besides, one must leave some of them to Germany as a testimony of our supremacy in art), and deliver up to us only the "Portrait de la duchesse d'Etampes" attributed to Clouet, and the "Portrait du duc de la Rochefoucauld" (Largillière). — But from Carlsruhe we should take back its Chardins; — from Cassel the "Scène bachique" (Poussin), taken away from the Musée Napoléon in 1815, and the beautiful "Portrait d'inconnu" by an unknown French master of about 1530; — from Brunswick the "Matin" (Claude Lorrain), the two mythological

¹⁾ Mercure de France Nr. 420. T. CXII. I. XII. 1915, pp. 717—721.

compositions by Poussin, the "Diana et ses nymphes" (Vanloo) and the "Vierge" (Simon Vouet) taken likewise from the Louvre a hundred years ago; — from Schwerin, the Vudrys and the Claude Lorrains of the same origin, — from Vienna, the "Portrait de Charles IX" (Clouet) and "la Foire de Beaucaire" (or rather d'Impruneta) by Callot which had been our property, as well as the "Bonaparte franchissant le Saint-Bernard" (David) taken from Saint Cloud.

Other works must be reclaimed out of artistic and historical considerations. In the first place those of special artistic importance, because their possession would allow of a reconstruction of different dismembered sets, such as: — the six paintings by Thierry Bouts, kept at Berlin and Munich, which once served as the side-pieces to "The Lord's Supper" by the same master, saved miraculously from the fire of Saint-Pierre in Louvain; the "Portrait d'homme" (Memling) which is the counterpart of "An old woman" acquired by the Louvre in 1909. Then, to apply a principle suggested by Mr. Bode himself — who some months ago caused a painting by Piazzetta, "The Assumption of the Virgin", originally painted for the church of the Teutonic Order in Frankfort, to be transferred from the Lille Museum to Frankfort — Belgium should transfer from Vienna to Antwerp, those magnificent Rubens originally painted for its old Jesuit Church — that Antwerp, which the Austrian howitzers helped to subdue — and bring back from Frankfort the paintings of the "Maitre de Flémalle" which came from the abbey of this name. By virtue of the same principle we might take back from Berlin the "Leda" (Correggio) which once belonged to the Régent; from Vienna, the famous gold salt-cellar which was encased by Benvenuto Cellini for François I, and in Paris itself, following a wish just expressed by one of our best scholars, M. J. Mayor, it would be good to annex to our national palaces the German Embassy, the former palace of Prince Eugène de Beauharnais, which, with its exquisite Empire salons, would form a perfect frame for a Napoleonic museum.

Finally, apart from any considerations of history and origin, who could hinder us from adding to all these works — so justly taken back — this or that masterpiece (of which many had already formed part of the Louvre), to fill up the gaps in our collections, especially those in the old German school? We can never be overpaid for the enormous losses which German vandalism has inflicted upon us. Moreover, martyrised Belgium might be compensated for some of her losses by the admirable Breughels from Vienna, the van Dycks from Vienna or Cassel, the Rubens and the early Flemish painters from Munich, etc.; Berlin could give us, the Nativity of Schongauer, the Virgin with the siskin and the Portrait of Holzschuher by Dürer, the Adoration of the Magi by Hans von Kulmbach, the Cranachs and the Altdorfers taken back in 1815, the Anslou by Rembrandt, and the marvellous Portrait of the artist's brother, the Lady with the pearl-necklace by Vermeer, the Concert by Terborch, the Pergamon marbles, the exquisite antique statue of the Youth in prayer and one or two Menzels; — Cassel, all the Rembrandts which once belonged to us: Landscape with Ruins, Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph, etc., then the Portrait of a Man and Children practising Music by Franz Hals, the King drinks by Jordaens, the Peasants by Van Ostade and other numerous canvasses once in the Louvre; — Carlsruhe, the stirring Crucifixion by Grünewald; — Munich, the four Apostles by Dürer (sublime figures which must no longer be outraged by the gaze of the butchers and defilers of Nomény and Gerbeville) and the Oswald Krell by the same master, the Battle of Arbèles by Altdorfer taken back in 1815, the Death of Mary by Martin Schaffner, David carrying the Head of Goliath by Strigel, St. John at Pathmos by Burgkmair, the strange Battle of Alésia by Feselen, the Fathers of the Church and Scenes of the Life of St. Wolfgang by the great Tyrolese master Michael Pachter; — Augsburg, Christ receiving his Mother in Heaven by the elder Holbein, which fascinated Michelet; — Stuttgart, the Deposition of the Crucifix by Hans Multscher, the Portrait of Hans Baldung and the Judith of Cranach; — Frankfort, the Blind Samson by Rembrandt; — Darmstadt, the Dance under the Gallows by the elder Breughel; — Cologne, a selection of its early masters; — Leipsic, Christ by "master Francke"; — Dresden, la Belle Liseuse or la Chocolatière by Liotard; — Budapest, la Porteuse d'eau by Goya etc. — This list naturally might be enlarged by suggestions from the directors of our national museums; but what a wonderful ensemble such a collection would form! Wild dream of fancy, you will say! After victory it will rest with our diplomats alone to convert this dream into reality."

That is an openly confessed continuance of the policy of Napoleon's art-commissioners, who

without any regard for property-rights, robbed the collections of Italian towns, the Vatican, and those of German states and princes, thereby laying a foundation for everlasting national hatred.

In comparison with this systematic theft-policy, which no leading French statesman either in good or evil days has ever disavowed, what significance has the annexation proposed by a single irresponsible German, which was immediately rejected by the highest German museum officials and the general public? And this rejection was made immediately, even before any foreign protest could be raised and at a time when Germany's warlike successes gave good prospect of an ultimate victory.

After the Entente victory in 1918, the French, Belgian, Italian and English press took up this annexation policy of Napoleon's art-commissioners with an intensity much greater than that of Napoleon himself. Auguste Marguillier's annexation policy, for which one can find no parallels even in the victorious Germany of 1914, 1915 and 1916, has been outdone by the demands of the French journalists, poets and scholars. The general cry for revenge and demands for reprisals¹⁾ from our enemies cannot be treated of in greater detail here, as the demands for substitution for destroyed or missing works of art is so closely connected with the demands for replacement of dwellings, factories, agricultural works and devastated fields. We must limit our discussion here to a statement of the enemies' claims upon our artistic property.

Justice demands that — if the problem of replacement is really brought forward in this form — the Austrian and German works of art which the Russians destroyed during their invasion of East Prussia, the Italians in Carinthia and the Roumanians in Transylvania, should also be substituted.

Several eminent Frenchmen made the felicitous and humane suggestion that the ruined artistic buildings should be allowed to remain as they were, as a permanent memorial of the German acts of violence! The French artistic critic Robert de la Sizeranne²⁾ was he first to champion such a plan; Péladan³⁾ alone spoke against such a gloomy idea. The *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*⁴⁾ supported this demagogic idea, in which it was followed by Camille Enlart⁵⁾. The "*Revue antiallemande*"⁶⁾ took up with enthusiasm this plan, so well-adapted for inflaming the nations, and in 1918 it became the theme of the whole French press⁷⁾. Other Frenchmen demanded that a German town should be destroyed for each French one that was ruined. Town for town, village for village, castle for castle, house for house was demanded by the papers⁸⁾. Demands of this kind were addressed to the Government by the anti-German leagues "*Souvenez-vous*" and "*Ligue des Patriotes*"⁹⁾. We refrain from passing any judgment upon such a method of educating nations to hatred; we rather trust to the healthy judgment of those who do not engage in political propaganda, and they form the majority in every country. After Germany had defeated Russia and Roumania it did not impose any such demands. Should the Entente now raise such claims against us, then we too shall have to make similar substitution-claims for those damages which the enemy has inflicted upon us.

Since July 1918, isolated notices have flashed through the hostile press, which in the spirit of Napoleon and Auguste Marguillier, claimed indemnities for destroyed and missing works of art. After

¹⁾ See amongst others: *Matin* 8. IX., 26. X. 1918; *Victoire* 3. X. 1918; *Libre Parole* 6. X. 1918; *Œuvre* 4. X., 3. XI. 1918; *Figaro* 22. X. 1918; *Dépêche de Toulouse* 6. X. 1918; *Rappel* 6. X. 1918; *Information* 13. IX. 1918; *Radical* 3. XI. 1918; *New York Evening Sun* 13. IX.; *André Michel* in *Revue des deux mondes* 15. XI. 1917; *Temps* 9. X., 24. X., 1. XI. 1918.

²⁾ Robert de la Sizeranne, *Les Ruines*, *Illustration*, December 1915. „The English papers, at the instigation of the Belgian Government are interesting themselves in the question of allowing the ruins of Ypres to remain as a permanent memorial, and of building a new town on another site. This plan meets with English approval.“ *Echo de Paris*, I. II. 19.

³⁾ Péladan: „Quelle humiliation ineffaçable que la ruine d'une chef-d'œuvre! Elle ne témoigne pas seulement de la barbarie de l'adversaire, elle marque éternellement notre impuissance... Reims a été un club, un magasin a fourrages. On veut en faire un ossuaire.“ *L'art et la guerre*, p. 288/291.

⁴⁾ *Les ruines en Belgique*. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Juin 1916.

⁵⁾ Camille Enlart, *L'Art et les artistes*: *La Cathédrale de Reims*. 19. p. 34.

⁶⁾ *Revue antiallemande*. Septembre 1917.

⁷⁾ *Petit Journal* 3. III. 1918; *Homme libre* 29. X. 1918, and others.

⁸⁾ *Rappel* 3. X. 1918; *Pays* 4. X. 1918; *Journal des Débats* 6. X. 1918; *Figaro* 4. X. 1918; *Daily Mail* 14. IX. 1918.

⁹⁾ *Matin* 4. X. 1918; *Temps* 10. X. 1918; *Libre Parole* 4. X. 1918; *Homme libre* 8. X. 1918.

our military collapse, for the first time an Italian journalist who has shamefacedly concealed his name, drew up an elaborate programme of art-annexation for the Entente. He writes¹⁾: "The most devoted patrons of art research and the most zealous protectors of works of art were previously the Germans. But whilst some gave themselves up to a study of documents in the archives, others in their laboratories hatched out sure and practical means for destroying the enemies' monuments of art. To deprive the world of the Cologne Cathedral in order to avenge the losses of Reims would be an act that could only coincide with German ideas. Compensation, however, must be made to those who have suffered and lost so much."

A proposal of the Belgian Director of Arts, Paul Lambotte, which was suggested to the Royal Society of Arts in London, seems to us to be worthy of consideration.

After describing the Belgian ruins, Lambotte states that the losses cannot be made good by monetary compensation." The only possible way in which the losses to our national wealth could be balanced to a certain degree, would be by the return of all those native works which at present form the chief attraction of the German and Austrian museums and galleries. The wings of the Ghent altar by the van Eyck brothers, representing "The Adoration of the Lamb" must be returned from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, so that this wonderful masterpiece of the discoverers of oil-painting may again appear in its original form in the Ghent Cathedral. We must recover from Vienna some pictures of Peter Breughel the Elder, who is one of the most interesting of our Flemish masters, from the technical standpoint as well as that of national humour. From Vienna we must also receive back the altar screen, painted by Rubens under special commission from the Archduke Albert and his wife, Isabella of Spain, which was a donation for the family chapel in the Royal Church of St. Jacques sur Candenberg in Brussels; from Frankfort, the paintings of the Flemalle master which have exceptional importance for the history of Flemish art; from Munich, Dresden, Cassel and many other towns, we must receive the most eminent paintings, pieces of sculpture, tapestries, wood-carvings and furniture of our native artists and artisans. All these works in the future should form for us and our visitors a small compensation for the losses we have sustained. Tortured Belgium deserves to become one large museum and the goal of pilgrimage for all lovers of art. I think the Allied statesmen, and above all the Belgian statesmen, will not forget this matter when they come to discuss peace with the hated Boches. I am prepared to furnish a complete catalogue of the paintings and works of art which are still missing from our museums for a complete representation of the work of our old masters. All of our English friends will visit free — and let us hope prosperous — Belgium to admire these works."

But even before the final victory, Louis Piérard in the paper "Les Nouvelles"²⁾ which had fled from Belgium to the Hague, following on an article in an English paper, made similar claims upon works of art from German private and public collections. In this article one finds the sentence: «Le Saint-Luc de van der Weyden qui se trouve à Munich, ferait très bien à Tournai, ville où ce peintre fut baptisé sous le nom de Roger de la Pasture.» Claims of annexation could hardly be championed less objectively. Are the English prepared to deliver up their French and Italian paintings to the artists' birth-places? They have even tried to gain possession of the Medici archives during the war. Louis Piérard continues: «Les Allemands, d'ailleurs, nous donnent le bon exemple. Interprétant à leur façon le traité de Brest-Litowsk, ils ont exigé du gouvernement de Lénine, qui n'a rien à leur refuser, la restitution au musée de Cassel de plusieurs tableaux de l'Hermitage.»

To this one must reply that the 22 paintings which the German Government demanded back from the Hermitage in Petersburg for the Gallery in Cassel, are a part of the works which the French took from Cassel in 1806³⁾, whilst the "St. Luke" by Roger van der Weyden in the Munich Pinakothek was no theft but had an honest provenience⁴⁾.

But an objective basis and a legal plea in defence of their claims on Germany's art collections

¹⁾ Giornale d'Italia 2. XI. 1918.

²⁾ Les Nouvelles, Hague, Nr. 13 (2. XI. 1918). The same article by Louis Piérard appeared in the *Homme libre* (2. IX. 1918).

³⁾ Giornale Italia (31. XII. 1917). *Journal des Débats* (6. II. 1918).

⁴⁾ Cf. the catalogue of the Munich Pinakothek.

would not alone seem compatible with the victor's dignity. Whatever can be forcibly carried away is demanded of the conquered Germany!) The „Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung“ reported on December 2, 1918: “According to Lyons papers the Senate of the Brussels University have instigated a demand that Belgian art treasures which have been destroyed or appropriated should be replaced from German collections. The archaeologist and Director of the Brussels Museums, Lettenhove, has handed over this demand to the Ministry for Fine Arts and further requested that Germany's private and public art collections should be seized as security for the Belgian art treasures.”

Henry Kervyn de Lettenhove similarly advocated this system of replacing missing national artworks by works from Germany. Belgium must seek substitutes from the German museums, Royal and ducal collections and churches, for what the soldiers of William II and Franz Joseph have taken. The article concludes with the words:

“All German private and public collections must be put under sequestration until the art treasures which have been stolen from France and Belgium, whether from public or private collections, are either returned or compensated for in kind. These measures seem to be irremissible and justified.”

But not only Belgium and Italy have made such claims. According to French papers a bill has been passed in the French Chamber, at the instigation of A. Deville, President of the “Commission des Beaux Arts de la ville de Paris”, in the terms of which an inter-Allied commission shall stipulate the damages to art which must be compensated for from German collections³).

The Congrès national français which had called together delegates from 300 leagues, commissions and societies, which represented about 12,000,000 members, demanded in a resolution to the Government, substitution for the destroyed monuments and works of art, by statues and paintings from the German museums and private collections. Further, on March 2, 1919, the text of a petition which the Academy of Fine Arts had instigated was circulated by wireless from Lyons. The chief points of the petition are:

“The cathedrals, museums and libraries of twenty towns, as well as many of the most valuable churches of France have been destroyed or damaged, together with the works of art they contained. We do not demand the ransacking of German and Austrian museums in order to somewhat cover the loss of some of France's beauties, which formed our art-treasure, destined for the education of future generations. We only request that those works of French genius which are in German and Austrian royal palaces, and in their public galleries and museums, shall be placed at the disposal of the French State, so that some of them may be selected as lawful compensation.

It is the same with the art-inheritance of Belgium. Can monetary compensation be regarded as sufficient to make good the destruction of Ypres or Louvain? Belgium should be allowed to select a certain number of Flemish works from those countries which have been responsible for the damage, under the same conditions we demanded for France. Also, to be just, the losses caused to Italy, which included several valuable examples of Venetian art, must also be made good by the surrender of several Italian works which are at present in the enemy's possession”.

Briefly, the signatories of the petition request that the following clause be inserted in the peace treaty: “Injuries and damage done to the works of art of any power must be made good by the surrender of works of art by the power responsible for such damage.”

Finally, the républicains de gauche sent a deputation under Louis Barthou to Clemenceau at the beginning of May, with the request that the principle of artistic compensation should be inserted in the peace treaty.

Not only works of French masters were to be taken from the German galleries and Royal palaces as compensation, but also works of Dutch and Flemish masters⁴).

¹) Petit Journal (19. X. 1918). Idea Nazionale (28. X. 1918).

²) Echo belge (14. XII. 1918).

³) Temps 22. XI. 1918; Journal, 23. XI. 1918; Action française (13. XI. 1918) agitated for the passing of this bill, before its discussion in the Chamber. Figaro 17. XI. 1918. Following on this, Auguste Marguillier published in the “Illustration” (11. I. 1918) a new variation of his theft-policy, drawn up in 1915. This essay, supplemented by several prime delicacies, such as the “Goldene Rössl” from Altötting, was accompanied by numerous illustrations, amongst them “The Four Apostles” by Dürer, upon which Marguillier seems to lay special stress.

⁴) Petit Journal 24. XII. 1918; Temps 26. XII. 1918.

The Antwerp Society of Friends of the Antwerp Museum, "Artibus Patriae", forwarded a resolution to the Government in which they requested: (1) The return of works of art appropriated from Belgium during the war, (2) Substitution in similar value of those which cannot be replaced or are damaged, (3) Payment of costs incurred by the restoration of damaged works and substitution for missing originals. (4) The return of all works of art which are illegally in the enemy's possession, even when the claims to them are superannuated¹⁾."

"La Belgique"²⁾ extended the claims still further in that it demanded that the paintings sent by Napoleon to Strasburg and Mayence in 1794 should be returned. The "Temps" is already trying to induce the French Government to lay their hands on Germany's artistic possessions, as is shown by the following note:

"A telegram from Berlin via Switzerland states that the Minister of Finance has allowed the two celebrated works of Watteau to be sent away from the Royal palace to an unmentioned destination. Probably other works will follow. This interests us exceedingly, as the works are French art and because it shows that the Kaiser who is anxious lest anything should be taken from him or that personal vengeance should be taken on his property, is putting his things into safety. Millions have already been offered for them by art-dealers. It is urgently necessary that the French Government, in agreement with the Allies, should issue a veto against the export of works of art³⁾."

Auguste Marguillier, proud of having been the first to resume Napoleon's art-annexation policy, repeats his demands in the following form⁴⁾: "At the moment of writing these lines it is announced that "La Tour de St. Quentin" has been found intact at Maubeuge. Also the combined collections of Valenciennes have been found at Brussels, where they were sent last October and placed under the care of the devoted superintendent of the museums, M-Fiérens-Gevaert. If only we could likewise find intact and in good condition all the other works which have been carried off! The Minister of War has established a special enquiry bureau for tracing works which have been taken away by our enemies during their occupation. Besides, the Minister will do his utmost to see that all such works are restored to us, and — as we sincerely hope — that in addition we receive as compensation, works of the kind we have previously specified. We read with pleasure that a resolution to this effect has been deposited by the three deputies, Mm. Amiard, Goust and Adrien Dariac, and that also the Academy of Fine Arts in its sitting of December 7, expressed the wish that the Germans should furnish us with an equivalent for those works of art which have been destroyed or which have disappeared. Whilst expecting those restitutions and reparations which are our due, we re-enter from now on into possession of the Alsace-Lorraine museums: the public collections of Metz, Strasburg, Mulhausen and Colmar. It is very important that works such as the famous paintings by Grünewald, which were removed from Colmar to a safer zone, should be returned to the museum."

Though only a legal procedure — arising out of political pressure and chauvinistic prejudice — could legitimise such demands as our enemies are making in the flush of victory, one would criticise such demands more indulgently if they were raised by a nation whose reverence for works of art was pure and genuine. That such is not the case, however, has been proved clearly enough by Maurice Barrès, Paul Léon, Péladan and Auguste Rodin. It is further proved by the request of the "Action française", demanding that the Niederwald monument, which is in the neutral zone, should be melted down as compensation for stolen guns⁵⁾; a demand which Louis Dimier had brought forward as early as 1914, in the "Action française" and which this paper recalls with all the bombast of a victor. After their victory, however, the Entente powers have not been content to abide by these threats. When the French entered Alsace-Lorraine, one of their first acts was to wilfully destroy the Imperial monuments in Strasburg and Metz. How indignant the French would have been had the Germans acted similarly during the war! The press rang with joy at this wanton and senseless destruction⁶⁾.

1) Etoile belge 26. II. 1919.

2) La Belgique 10. XII. 1918; La nation belge 25. XI. 1918.

3) Temps 20 XII. 1918.

4) Mercure de France, Nr. 493. Tome CXXXI, 1. I. 1919, pp. 136, 137.

5) Action française 23. XII. 1918.

6) Cf. Gustave Babin in Illustration, Nr. 3952, 30. XI. 1918, pp. 498—500.



The Kaiser-Friedrich Monument in Metz which was pulled down by the French



The Kaiser-Wilhelm Monument in Metz, which was pulled down and destroyed by the French



Prince Friedrich Karl Monument in Metz, pulled down by the French

For us, who here have to discuss before our people and history, all questions concerning the protection of monuments during the war, it does not come into account whose monument it is, otherwise we should have wanted only destroyed those of our past and present enemies during our occupation of hostile country. Germany has never adopted such a narrow standpoint, even when the majority of her people believed in a German victory. This conception of art-protection was reserved for victorious France. But not content with converting this conception into action, they have propagated it with a strange pride in such proceedings, by placing large illustrations in widely-circulated magazines¹⁾. Such a sentiment is not expressed in the title or character of any German illustration. But this is not the first profanation of monuments which the French have committed. During the war they have not shown that respect for the graves and tombstones of German soldiers, which is universally demanded for the dead and their resting-places. In a debased spirit they have published illustrations of those tombs of German soldiers which they have smashed or overturned²⁾.

M. Cochin in his address to the Chamber, which has already been quoted several times, has characterised the tendency of German literature, with special mention of the publications of Bode, Joseph Sauer and my humble self, in the following way:

¹⁾ Illustration 30. XI. 1918; cf. also illustr. above.

²⁾ Daily Mail 21. V. 1917.

«Leur thèse se resume à ceci: les Français ne savaient, avant la guerre, ni entretenir leurs églises, ni classer leurs musées. Aujourd'hui, ils s'acharnent bêtement à démolir leurs propres œuvres d'art¹⁾.»

Neither in peace-time nor during the war have I ever, in any way, suppressed in my statements my acknowledgment of the actual achievements of the French in their protection of art. The French, however, through their depreciation of German art and German history of art, through their generalised derisions and slanders of our good intentions and earnest endeavours and achievements, have compelled us to expose the gaps, weaknesses and flaws in their own protection of monuments. Before the war we agreed with many of our present enemies that protection of monuments of art was not merely a national affair, but a problem which equally interested the whole of the cultured world, for as Kervyn de Lettenhove writes: «Nos trésors appartenaient en quelque sorte à l'humanité tout entière²⁾.»

During the war we have also maintained this point of view; nor shall we abandon it after the war. But when we are passionately, subjectively and unjustly attacked, we have a duty to ourselves to justify our attitude. This justification may consist — as has been attempted in the foregoing statements — in reference to the imperfections of mankind in all countries. We have intentionally and very carefully avoided supporting our criticism of the French measures for the protection of art, by any German testimonies or the evidence of such French papers and persons which are customarily labelled with the amiable epithet: "emboché". The active French government official Paul Léon, who enjoys the special confidence of the present government, the fanatical anti-Germans Barrès and Péladan, the Catholic scholar, Gautherot, the sculptor Auguste Rodin and the art critic Auguste Marguillier, as well as papers like the Temps, Figaro, Gaulois and others, are above this suspicion.

Frenchmen however have certified on the one hand, that Germany has honestly and successfully worked in the interests of the protection of enemy monuments. Frenchmen have stated that France on the other hand, has destroyed and neglected works of art and that French armies, like the armies of all times, have ravaged and plundered. Frenchmen finally acknowledge annexation of art and violence — the same French who up till 1918 were the severest judges of any policy of force.

It has to be confessed that the gifts of pathetic defence and flaming accusation have not been given to us Germans. Very unwillingly do we make use of the weapon of the word, for our conscience warns us against the extreme flexibility and adaptability of this double-edged sword. Even here words have only been used for the enumeration of plain facts and then only with the one aim and the one wish, that the hour of peace may not be used for the sowing of fresh hatred, but rather for introspection — for the realisation in all countries of the earth that this terrible slaughter was not destined to make a people better. Or was the Frenchmen not right who said:

"Let the nation rise whose hands have remained unsoiled?"

¹⁾ Journal officiel. Séance de la Chambre du 12. III. 1918, p. 884.

²⁾ Kervyn de Lettenhove, La guerre et les œuvres d'art en Belgique. 1917, p. 23.



The taking-down of the Jeanne d'Arc monument by Paul Dubois at Reims

VII.

Monuments of Art in War-time and International Law

By Franz W. Jerusalem

According to Clausewitz, the classic of military science, war is "the most extreme application of force conceivable". The military caste of all countries regard force as the essential feature of war, before which every other consideration has to retire. Thus war appears as the great destroyer who pitilessly walks over hecatombs of human corpses and the ruins of irreplaceable works of culture.

Nevertheless, war has always been restricted to certain limits. There were the great human ideals, especially the idea of Christian charity, which rose up against war to prevent in the midst of its horrors at least the most awful ones. The essence of the Christian teachings condemns war altogether, and during the first century of the Christian epoch numerous Christians refused to engage in military service. Certainly, when the Christian doctrine was accepted as a state religion, it had to form a compromise with the demands of civil life, which St. Augustine has finally formulated in his "Civitas dei". The result is that only such military service is permitted which serves exclusively the purpose of war, whilst any divergence from this was regarded as sin and was forbidden. The idea of humaneness was born out of this idea of Christian charity, which has become of greatest importance in the development of the modern martial law by limiting the terrors of war. The Petersburg and Geneva Conventions, the establishment of the Red Cross, the Hague Agreement concerning the protection of the wounded and prisoners are the achievements of this humanitarian ideal of the period of enlightenment.

Furthermore, the idea of the protection of works of art is one of those ideas which have successfully attempted to oppose war and the unlimited force which signifies it. It was humanism which gave birth to the thought that works of art should enjoy immunity even during a war¹). Even this idea, however, was as little realised to its full extent against the might of war as the idea of Christian charity. There resulted a compromise between culture and war, in so far that in certain cases the idea of culture took precedence over war, whilst in other cases it had to yield. Decisive for it is the necessity of special war-acts for the attainment of the aims of the war. Wherever the destruction of a work of art is essential for the purpose of war then its immunity ceases, it helplessly rebounds at the "dira necessitas" of war. When such is not the case it is maintained in its full extent.

In the Hague regulation of laws and practice of land-warfare, of October 18, 1907, the protection of monuments during war have found but an imperfect adjustment in comparison with the law of practice which arose out of the compromise between war and the idea of culture. In Article 23, letter G, it is determined that the destruction or removal of enemy property is forbidden except in those cases, when this destruction or removal is urgently necessary through the demands of the war. Thereby works of art were protected, but did not attain that special consideration which they could claim through the law of practice. This has been attained in Article 27, according to which it is determined that during sieges and bombardments all necessary precautions are to be taken to spare as far as possible buildings dedicated to divine worship, art, science and charity, and historical monuments, provided that they are not used at the time for military purposes²). Hereby, however, only museums, art-academies and similar institutions, together with churches, receive special protection. All works of art, for instance, apart from museums and which are not "buildings dedicated to worship", remain unconsidered. Only when such a monument is at the same time of historical interest does it enjoy the express protection under Article 27. A castle possessing eminent artistic value, a monument or a fountain situated in a public square, therefore do not in their own right enjoy the protection of Article 27. Museums and churches are only protected in cases of siege or bombardment, whilst any other form of destruction,

¹) For details, cf. Jerusalem, *Kriegsrecht und Kodifikation*, 1918, pp. 49 ff.

²) Art. 27 is as follows: At sieges and bombardments all necessary measures must be taken to protect as far as possible buildings dedicated to divine worship, art, science and charity and historical monuments, hospitals and depots for the ill and wounded, provided that they do not simultaneously serve a military purpose. It is the duty of the besieged to indicate these buildings or depots with distinct special signs, which are to be previously notified to the besieging party.

for instance, the pulling down of a work of art to obtain a clear sighting-field or for the purpose of obtaining raw material for armaments, is not covered by the text of the article. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that the special protection which museums and churches enjoy during sieges and bombardments according to the spirit of the Hague convention, equally applies to all works of art and all conceivable forms of the possibility of their destruction. In the 4th agreement of October 18, dealing with the laws and practices of land-warfare, it was decided that in cases in which the method of warfare is not prescribed, the axioms of international law should be applied "according to the recognized practices of civilised nations, the laws of humanity and the demands of the public conscience". Thereby, however, the protection of art, which up till then had existed only as the right of practice, remained expressly in force as far as it had not been modified by the agreements concerning land-warfare.

The obligations of belligerents in the interests of the protection of art are not accurately defined. There exist no absolutely prescribed rules which the belligerents are called upon to observe in the protection of art. The order of land-warfare merely states in Article 27, that the works of art are "to be protected as far as possible". According to this the decision as to whether and how a work of art is to be protected rests upon the judgment of the military commander. Certainly it must not be arbitrary; rather should the military commanders much more have to respect certain limits indicated in Article 27, which will be subsequently referred to in detail. An attitude which was opposed to this, would undoubtedly be a violation of international understanding. As the guiding lines, however, only represent a general frame for the obligations of the military commanders, their judgment in the main can be a wide one, so that different attitudes of several commanders towards the same question need not necessarily indicate a breach of international understanding on the part of any one of them. It is comprehensible that the decision of the commanders in these cases will grant precedence to military interests over the preservation of the work of art. The general, for whom war is "the most extreme application of might conceivable", will through the very conception of his profession only too easily affirm the justification, for example, of the destruction of a work of art, and only when the grand ideas of culture live within him together with his professional military interest, will there be a struggle within him between the interests of warfare and the preservation of works of art. But as long as the order of land-warfare places the decision about the protection of works of art in the hands of a military commander, one has to reckon with the fact that he will one-sidedly favour the military interest, so that a neglect of the interests of art can not be considered altogether as illegal.

No one will maintain that the German troops and leaders have considered and decided the question of the protection of works of art with a full understanding in each individual case, but that is not a special phenomenon of Prussian "Vandalism". The responsible leaders of all peoples have repeatedly suppressed the consideration of works of art by the demands of military necessity. Must we recall the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English fleet in 1807, whereby half the town was burnt down within three days, shall we recall how the English in 1857 at Delhi did not hesitate for a moment to destroy this quite incomparably harmonious world of ancient beauty, or shall we re-awaken the memory of the bombardment of Alexandria by Admiral Seymour in 1882? In 1849, the French General, Oudinot, bombarded Rome and answered in reply to a joint protest of the foreign consuls, that his orders exceeded for him all considerations for works of art and monuments¹⁾, and in 1870 Nino Bixio had the plan of

¹⁾ The feeling of those days is revealed in the letters of an American lady, Margaret Fuller, the clever and spirited friend of Emerson and Mazzini. I quote some passages; from May 27, 1849: "I will not leave till the last moment; my sole dread is France. I cannot imagine that there are men who are willing to expose themselves to the curse of eternal posterity through bombarding Rome. They may treat other towns in this way and not care whether they murder the innocent and helpless. But Rome, the precious inheritance of mankind, will they dare to destroy its sanctuaries? Will they have the courage?" From June 10, 1849: "Many people believed that the French would never resolve to project bombs and shells against Rome, but they do it wherever they can. All noble expectation and all confidence in them as republicans and citizens, all good-will to explain their actions only too favourably and to believe as much as possible in their sincerity, is now destroyed. — In the meantime Rome is making terrible sacrifices . . . Rome will never recover from the cruel devastation of these days, which may be only the first stage." From June 21, 1849: "Yes, indeed! the French, who pretend to be in the van-guard of civilization, bombard Rome. They dare to take upon themselves the danger of destroying the richest heirloom which the past has bequeathed to man-

placing the whole Vatican and St. Peter under the fire of his guns. And whilst France roused the whole world against the barbarians who destroyed the cathedral of Rheims, the French Admiral who commanded the fleet lying before the Piraeus threatened to bombard Athens and the Acropolis. That this did not happen was only due to the moderation of the King of Greece.

The guiding lines which the belligerents have to follow for the purpose of sparing works of art are the following:

Article 23, letter G, of the Hague order for land-warfare forbids in general, as has already been mentioned, the destruction of enemy property except in cases where this is urgently demanded by the necessities of war. A comparison of this article with Article 27, shows that the protection of a work of art shall be superior to that granted to other things. The war-party has the obligation to make an especially great effort for the protection of a work of art and for the prevention of its destruction.

The belligerents have to issue special instructions for granting an effective protection of works of art during the war operations. They must not be content, however, with only doing this. The decision about the protection of art in special cases, particularly concerning the necessity of an ultimate destruction, must be placed in the hands of such men as are able to take comprehensive measures and can especially command the assistance of larger groups and prepare the general strategical and tactical arrangements upon the special standpoint of a protection of monuments.

According to this it would be necessary in the spirit of the order of land-warfare that the decision as to the protection of works of art and especially as to the destruction lie in the hands of the higher staff and army leaders. Certainly these will neither possess the understanding for art nor the knowledge of the existing works of art which are threatened through military operations, to be able to permanently adopt the necessary precautionary measures. There is therefore the international duty that experts should be appointed by the military authorities, who shall be attached to the deciding authorities. Certainly it would not always be possible to leave the decision as to the protection of a work of art and especially the necessity of its destruction to the higher commanding authorities. Very often it is necessary that an immediate decision should be made by subordinate leaders of troops. In such cases the fate of a work of art is placed in their hands and thereby often sealed, without such an unnecessary destruction having to be regarded as a violation against international law.

In another part of this work, it is reported how earnestly the Germany military headquarters realised their obligations and how much they have done to comply with them. They issued general instructions concerning the protection of monuments. The special armies were expressly commanded to carefully spare the historical monuments. The army administration worked herein in close co-operation with the art-experts. The supreme military authorities have lent their personal interest in the matter of the preservation of art monuments. The Kaiser, in particular, interested himself in the protection of art in the war-zone.

With this organization of art-protection, however, the duties of the belligerent powers are not exhausted. They have the obligation to apply the whole machinery at their disposal to secure the utmost protection for art-monuments. Strategical and tactical plans through whose execution the works of art might be imperilled have to be carefully examined as to the possibility of effecting an alteration. Financial considerations must not play a deciding part.

The exemption of a work of art must also be purchased at the cost of slight military disadvantages, although in such cases the separate troop-leaders will regularly decide in favour of the military interests. Wherever a monument of art came directly into the war-zone, its fate was regularly sealed. The military interest in the hindrance of communication with any reserves stationed in the towns, the destruction of the quarters of enemy reserves and the commissariat depots which lay in the town, was so great for instance, that the attempt has never been made, either on German or the hostile side, to spare the art monuments during a bombardment of the towns. Thus the Halls of Ypres sank into ruin

kind. Yes, they seem to do it in an especially barbaric way. One had believed that they would spare as much as possible the hospitals for the wounded, which are indicated to them by the black flag, and the places where the most precious monuments stand, but several shells have fallen on the chief hospital and the top of the Capitol seems to serve as a special target!"

under shells, Arras and St. Quentin with their works of art have been demolished, and innumerable art treasures of which this work gives accounts have been destroyed.

The protection which Article 27 of the order of land-warfare grants to works of art, is annulled when these works of art simultaneously serve a military purpose. This military employment is not mentioned as being illegal; in any case it exempts the buildings from immunity. According to the spirit of the Hague order of land-warfare, however, the belligerents are only allowed to proceed to a military use of works of art when such is necessary in military interest. In reality, in innumerable cases, monuments of art, especially churches, have been drawn into the fortification-line by Germany as well as by the enemy. No artillery commander thinks he can afford to refrain under certain conditions from using the highest point offered him, for observation-posts for his own or for the enemy artillery, and no attacking-party can refrain from destroying with all available means such observation-points, which spell disaster for them. Thus it happened that just the eminent monuments, cathedrals, town halls and towers, became at once the target of the enemy artillery, because they served or were suspected of serving as observation-posts. The military interest in observation possibilities is so great that they are recklessly used. The natural consequence however is that the same military interest of the opponent will lead to corresponding retaliative measures in the destruction of these posts. In the "Times", December 14, 1914, an officer of the Royal Field-artillery wrote: "As far as the bombardment of churches and high towers is concerned, this is simply necessary. It is crazy to bewail high buildings, whether town halls, cathedrals or bridges, as soon as they come into the fighting-zone. We do the same in these cases as the Germans. Observation officers from both sides used these buildings for directing the fire of their artillery. To-day it happens in France; perhaps to-morrow it may be the turn of the Cologne Cathedral. We should rather not cry so loudly, otherwise later one might call us hypocrites."

The sparing of monuments in Article 27 of the order of land-warfare also includes precautionary measures for threatening destructions. Only experts, whose assistance in this case is especially necessary, can decide what measures here come into question. In any case this protection, as is proved in this work, has been carried out by Germany in a comprehensive manner, whereby it matters not that it was more intense in some sections than in others. The great care which the German military authorities showed from the very beginning towards the protection of those foreign works of art which had been entrusted to their care, appears in a still more favourable light in view of the fact that the French authorities — at least during the first stage — did nothing to effectively protect their own imperilled works of art.

The bombardment of the cathedral of Reims roused special excitement throughout the world and this was promoted through a skilful and partly unscrupulous propaganda. The actual events connected with this bombardment have been stated in another part of this work. According to the terms of international law Germany has no ground for reproaching herself. As we know, the protection contained in Article 27, becomes invalid when a church simultaneously serves a military purpose. It has been proved beyond dispute by the Germans that before the first bombardment there were arrangements for an observation-post on the north-western tower of the cathedral. Thereby the cathedral was used "simultaneously for a military purpose". Germany was exempted from the obligation imposed by the terms of Article 27; in accordance with the rights above referred to, it was permissible to expel this observation-post by means of shots, whereby it was a sad misfortune that these few shots caused such heavy damage. Also later bombardments of the cathedral only served the purpose of expelling military posts which were reported to be on the tower. Should it actually be proved that the alleged military posts observed by the Germans were really only workmen engaged in repairing the cathedral, as is energetically maintained from the French side, then Germany must not be held responsible for these shots. At any rate the French Government had the obligation to inform Germany of these intended repairs. The cathedral was also struck during the German spring offensive in 1918. In this case, however, it was purely a matter of chance shots, which were unavoidable in such a terrific artillery duel. Neither can they be charged against Germany. The question of the permissibility of the destructions during retreats requires special consideration, especially those which occurred during the large

German withdrawal to the Siegfried line in 1917. They naturally only come into question here as far as they concern monuments of art. It is beyond dispute that destructions during retreat are altogether permissible. Only the military authorities are in the position to decide, however, to what extent they are necessary or not in single cases. Such destructions have the purpose of checking the pursuit of the enemy in order to thereby diminish the dangers of the retreat and facilitate the occupation of a new position. The science of war amongst all modern states regards the following means as suitable for this purpose: the destruction of crossings and roads, of bridges and tunnels, in addition, however, also the demolition of dwelling-places and buildings as far as they might serve as points of support for the enemy. The Belgians preceded all other belligerent powers at the beginning of the war with a systematic destruction of all bridges, tunnels, stations, roads, dykes and locks. A desert was formed around the town and forts of Antwerp in preparation for the threatening siege, whereby all the castles, country houses and whole groups of buildings were cleared from the landscape. In 1915, the Russians, during their great retreat, practised such destruction very extensively. They burnt each village, even those which could only offer the most primitive accommodation, but more especially destroyed every manor-house and large building. The Entente then showed the greatest admiration for such tactics. They thereby not only acknowledged the military necessity of the measure but also expressed their unreserved approval of its technical achievement.

In spring 1917, the German military headquarters found themselves in the same compulsory position as had previously faced Russia and Belgium, when they had to evade the offensive of a superior enemy, prepared with enormous means of assistance, through the withdrawal of the troops to a new line of defence. It was also here necessary to effect a detachment from the enemy in such a way that the opponent had no possibility of immediate pursuit. In this way a certain section of the territory passed through during the retreat had to be deprived of everything which could have served the purpose of the enemy and his advance.

Thereto belongs the demolition of any houses or villages which might have served as accommodation for the pursuing enemy, further the destruction of streets and roads as well as the breaking of the dykes in order to impede the progress of the enemy and finally, the contamination of the wells. The Belgian Government upon withdrawal to the fortress of Antwerp had done all these things as something self-evident, and the difference was purely one of extent in the case of the glacis which the German troops made in front of their new line. At the time, the Germans also read in the war-reports with great pain that "villages, churches and castles had to be sacrificed" to military necessity. One can only call the measure illegal, however, if it can be proved that the act was not of military necessity, and could have been avoided or lessened without serious prejudice to the strategical plan. This would, however, be difficult to prove. In reality the German military authorities did not form the resolution with a light heart. They did everything to so choose the zone of destruction that as few villages as possible would be affected. Finally, however, the natural geographical condition had to be the deciding factor for the military authorities. In the councils of the German headquarters the preservation of the Castle of Coucy, was contested for a long time. The representatives for art championed again and again its preservation, and the authorities in whose section the castle was situated were inclined to concede to the wish. The much-admired castle was once again visited by the deciding authorities for a last examination. The blowing-up of the building was resolved upon because its 55 m. tower was too favourable a point for the enemy for observation and sound-recording purposes and thereby too dangerous for us.

Considerable legal doubt exists, concerning the confiscation and melting-down of bronze monuments in occupied territory, for the manufacture of German armaments. Under the pressure of scarcity of raw material the German military authorities, as is well-known, were compelled to order an extensive confiscation of metal at home in order to replenish the decreasing reserves of metal. At home Germany was forced to confiscate metal from public and private buildings for military purposes. This was a heavy sacrifice for the German nation which however, it made willingly. In the opinion of the supreme military authorities similar measures also had to be adopted in occupied territory. When this was necessary, much greater consideration was shown towards the feelings of the population, at least in Belgium and Poland, than was possible in our own country. The principle that was here

followed was the same as that applied at home. All things possessing an artistic value were to be exempted from the confiscation; in practice, however, this exemption could not be admitted in the occupied territory, because here the confiscation was often carried out by military officials who lacked that artistic understanding necessary for realising the value of a work of art. Experts who could have advised the military authorities were not available in sufficient numbers. Nevertheless, art-works of real significance were spared, especially those which had an importance for national history. Thus the monuments of French army leaders were everywhere preserved, for instance, in Sedan the Monument of General Turenne, in Charleville the statues of Gonzaga and Bayard, in Lille the equestrian monument of General Faidherbe; in Laon the monument of Diana by Falguière was spared, in Damvillers Rodin's monument of Bastien-Lepage was specially rescued by us. It might here be mentioned that on the other hand the Russians had no hesitation in removing all the large bronze monuments, which also had considerable artistic worth, from the Baltic provinces and from Lithuania. Thus they took away from Riga the mighty equestrian statue of Peter the Great, the monument of Field-marshal Barclay de Tolly, the archbishop Albert and the Herder, from Wilna, the monument of Empress Catherine, a master-piece of Antokolski, the statues of Murawiew and the Puschkin monument.

This confiscation of works of art in occupied territory, as far as it was undertaken by subordinate military departments in opposition to the general orders, stands in contradiction to Article 56 of the Hague order of land-warfare.

In section 2 it is explicitly stated that each confiscation and each intentional destruction or damage of works of art is forbidden. As far as an actual confiscation of art-works was made, there was undoubtedly an offence against the Hague order of warfare, which however, was not deliberate, but was caused purely by the incomplete organization for the confiscation of metal in the occupied territory.

Quite at the beginning of the war it was clear to Germany that the protection given to works of art by the Hague order of 1907 was inadequate. Therefore even during the war it was attempted from the German side to arrive at a new international regulation of the matter, so that such works might be protected more effectively. In the spring of 1915 the representatives of the German and Austrian service for the protection of art, communicated with Swiss friends of monuments for the purpose of discussing with them the possibility of an international agreement, in which the Entente countries also should participate. This attempt met, however, with the greatest difficulties, and so one had to be contented with the holding of a conference of all those interested in the care of monuments in Germany and its allied countries, which was held on August 28, 1915, under the patronage of the Governor-General of Belgium and the presidency of Adolf von Oechelhäuser (Karlsruhe), who had ten years' experience in this department. At this conference, which was opened by a general lecture by Paul Clemen (Bonn), in addition to representatives for the protection of monuments in the German States and Austria-Hungary, officers of high rank were also present, with whom long consultations were held concerning a more effective protection of at least the most venerable national monuments.

Cornelius Gurlitt suggested a special sign, which should be widely visible and internationally recognized as a protective measure for monuments of special archæological and historical interest. These monuments were under no conditions to be used for military purposes, nor were defence-works to be built within a certain radius of them. It was intended that neutral powers should control the fulfilment of these measures.

The neutral members of an international commission were to superintend the thorough respecting of these agreements. A similar but still more far-reaching suggestion had been previously made by Professor Ferdinand Vetter (Bern), with the assistance of Professor Paul Moriaud who had previously recommended a gold cross as the protecting sign for works of art, following upon the example of the Red Cross which had an especial interest for him as a Swiss. The monuments protected in this way were to be regularly communicated to the opposing party. Neutral delegates should have the right of inspection of such buildings, to see that they were not used for military purposes. One of the most able German jurists, Ernst Zitelmann (Bonn), presented to the assembly a complete draft for an international agreement, whose fundamental principles corresponded to those suggested by Herr Gurlitt and Professor Vetter. Professor Zitelmann planned the establishment of an international administra-

tion for the protection of monuments during war, which should meet in Bern and to whom should be submitted a list of those monuments to be placed under this international protection. According to this draft, monuments should only enjoy such protection after having been recognized by all the belligerent powers engaged at the respective theatres of war¹). In detailed debates, during which all standpoints were discussed with the greatest seriousness, the preponderance of military interests, however, was so clearly shown that the assembly did not feel it could approve of any of the suggestions. The Hessian Minister, Herr von Biegeleben, summarised the result of the debates upon this question by the statement that a permanent obligation could not be accepted by any nation at war. The marking of the selected works of art protected by widely visible signs provided special difficulties. Ernst Zitelmann had suggested for this purpose the new war-protection sign, agreed upon in the ninth Hague agreement, large oblong surfaces, divided diagonally and painted black and white. In a long-distance bombardment, however, there is no possibility of recognizing even the largest signs, even when the target can be seen by the artilleryman or his observer. In the case of air-attacks all signs are futile. Even the largest signs, especially flags, cannot be recognised at a height of 3000 metres or more; besides, the belligerents have to attach the greatest importance to the prevention of certain means of orientation to the enemy which a widely-visible sign would be, as the knowledge of the locality of a monument given in this way would easily enable the enemy to calculate the general position.

The possibility certainly remains that a few eminent monuments could be selected to be placed under mutual protection by an agreement. One would think that an obligation not to use on any occasion such eminent buildings for military purposes could be communicated by a wireless-message or a neutral intercession. The fulfilment of this obligation would then have to be controlled by neutral specialists in the way suggested by Herr Gurlitt and Professor Vetter. But even this would lead to but slight success in practice. The experiences of the war have shown that even in those cases where the protection of one's own works of art came into question, the inclination for such an agreement with the enemy was small on account of the overwhelming military interests; thus the French rejected the German offer to allow French repairs to the cathedral of Reims upon receipt of adequate guarantees. There is only one effective means of protecting a town distinguished by its historical monument: the military authorities must absolutely refrain from defending it. As even the presence of troops in a place, however, leads to an enemy bombardment, such a town according to logical thinking should not be occupied at all. Such a scheme is naturally impossible in the case of all important military points. In the autumn of 1917, after the first successful offensive against Italy, serious deliberations were made concerning the protection of Venice. It was as important to the German and Austrian military authorities not to be compelled to bombard the town as it was to the Italians to preserve their treasures from threatening damage. The only real possibility, however, of this would have been to leave the town

¹) The accounts of the three scholars are printed in the stenographic report of the War-Conference for the Protection of Monuments at Brussels, 1915 (Berlin, W. Ernst, 1915, pp. 59 and following). The 6th and 7th clauses of Herr Gurlitt's suggestions were: The monuments to be placed under protection shall be intimated in each case to the enemy through the mediation of neutral powers. Such neutral powers will have the right to control this protection; for this purpose an international commission for the protection shall be established, whose neutral members in case of war shall be allowed the right of such control. The 4th clause of Professor Vetter says similarly: The fact that an architectural work is not used for military purposes is to be certified by a commissioner of either a neutral or hostile state. Still more far-reaching is clause 5: An international commission shall mark, in all countries, those villages and buildings which in future may not or no longer serve as fortresses or fortified places. The draft of Professor Zitelmann for an international agreement abstains from the exercise of such a control at the theatres of war themselves and is based upon the international bureau for the preservation of art during war, to be established in Berne and to which each state concerned would have to present a list of monuments to be protected by agreement. The bureau would transmit the lists and comments of the different states to one another. The three scholars have further developed the idea in the following works: C. Gurlitt, *Der Schutz der Kunstdenkmäler im Kriege*, Berlin, Zirkel, 1916. — F. Vetter, *Friede dem Kunstwerk! Zwischenstaatliche Sicherung der Kunstdenkmäler im Kriege als Weg zum künftigen dauerhaften Frieden*, Olten, Trosch, 1917. — E. Zitelmann, *Der Krieg und die Denkmalpflege: Zeitschrift für Völkerrecht*, X, 1916, S. 1. — For the whole situation one may finally compare Wilhelm R. von Ambros, *Völkerrecht und Denkmalschutz*. *Mitteilungen der K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*. 3. Folge XIV, 1915, S. 73.

without any garrison, so that in the case of a retreat, upon receipt of a previous intimation of the fact, it would have been passed over. This might have been possible in the case of Venice, owing to its special geographical position. This had already been done on a smaller scale at the west front, when upon our withdrawal to the Siegfried position in the spring of 1917, Noyon was left undefended to the enemy for the sake of its treasures and buildings, and finally in the case of the evacuation of the large town of Lille which our troops refrained from defending or bombarding. Its exemption from use in the military operation naturally presupposed the total exclusion of the place for assembling troops, for military depots and for the transport and unloading of troops. A special agreement with the opponent concerning the exemption and its guarantee would be necessary through a neutral power or specialist.





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